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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Vigilantes Attack, Settle Nablus Following Stabbing

Israeli settlers escalated provocations following the stabbing of Yosef Stern, an Israeli settler from Bracha settlement, near Nablus, November 28, reports from Palestinians in the Nablus area said.

Settler representatives met at Bracha settlement, near Nablus, November 28, and drew up "a rotation system" to keep a post they have established at the Nebi Yusef tomb in the city permanently manned. The Jerusalem Post reported. This violates Israeli military orders. There was no response from the army.

Nablus unions, women's and charitable institutions, the chamber of commerce and the Najah University administration and its board of trustees published ads in local newspapers denouncing the attack on the university's guards and placing the responsibility for the attack on Israeli authorities.

There were no reports of arrest of attackers and no curfews were imposed on settlements.

Over 300 settlers, among them Israeli officials, held a meeting, November 29, at a building near the tomb and announced the establishment of a permanent headquarters.

They also held a protest

march from the building to the vegetable market on the evening of November 29.

The Israeli press said settlers hope their move leads to a permanent presence in the heart of Nablus, "as happened in Hebron."

Ma'ariv said dozens of settlers and their families plan to live in the vicinity of the new centre.

MK Hanan Ben Porat, of the right wing Tehiya Party, said after the November 29 meeting, "No Arab will dare to throw stones at the settlers after the new security measures have been adopted." He called attacks on settlers "national provocations against Jews."

Israel Ariel, the general secretary of the settlement's board, said the new command centre in Nablus will represent all settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. "The purpose of establishing a command headquarters in the West Bank is to solve the security crisis on West Bank roads," he said.

"Our presence in Nablus is a kind of pressure against the Israeli Army to increase security measures," Ariel said. Settlers carried out a protest march, November 29, from Joseph's tomb to the vegetable market, where the settler was stabbed, demanding an increase of security forces in the West Bank.

MASS ARRESTS AFTER ATTACK ON SETTLER

An estimated 100 Nabulsi were arrested on the morning of November 28 after a settler was stabbed in the central produce market. People who witnessed the round-ups said the detainees were passers-by and vegetable sellers. The market, 1.5 kilometres east of central Nablus, was put under curfew.

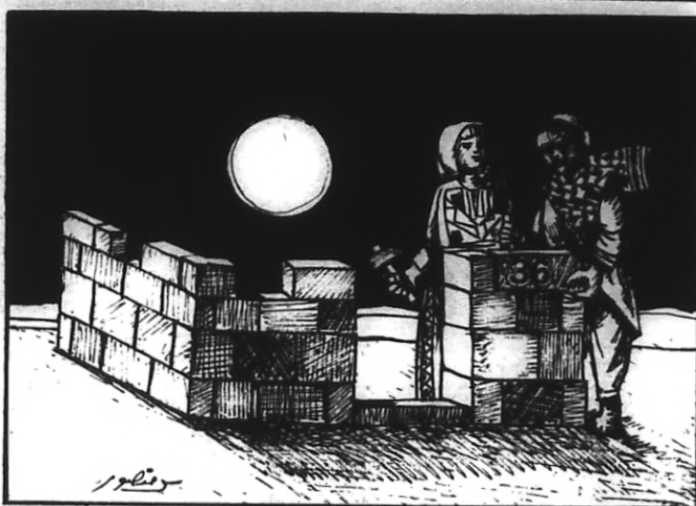
At 6:00 am, an unidentified person stabbed settler Yosef Stern, from Bracha settlement, near Nablus, as he loaded a van with vegetables. According to medical reports, he was struck several times in the chest. Israel Radio said an axe was used in the attack. Stern opened fire with a pistol before collapsing. He was taken to hospitals in Kfar Saba and Tel Aviv, and his condition was later described as "fair."

After the attack, Israeli military vehicles immediately rushed to the market and started arresting shoppers and stall-owners. Witnesses said the market started emptying as soon as the stabbing occurred.

As round-ups continued, curfews were imposed on the market, Deir al-Hatab, Salem and Azmout villages and old and new Askar refugee camps.

In the aftermath of the attack, West Bank settlers called for a meeting at Bracha to discuss retaliation. Settler Yedida Abilis told Israel Radio the settlers want more troops in the occupied territories with "wider powers."

Abilis said the settlers will be discussing mobilising settler vigilante groups.



STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS MARK PALESTINE DAY

The anniversary of the UN decision to partition Palestine, now also the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, was marked, November 29, with strikes and political rallies in the West Bank.

Despite reported Israeli military preparedness to counter demonstrations, there were commercial strikes in Ramallah and al-Bireh, Al Shaab reporters said.

Despite a large Israeli military presence in the twin cities, angry protesters erected road-blocks of blazing tyres which closed off streets, preventing military vehicles from getting through. The demonstrators also hoisted Palestinian flags on rooftops, the Al Shaab report said.

Classes in most Ramallah and al-Bireh schools were disrupted when students walked out in protest, the paper said.

Bir Zeit University students who penetrated military checkpoints, erected at entrances to the campus, organised a peaceful march in the town, which ended at the old campus. The students then held a rally, where a number of speakers representing the various student blocs analysed the present political situation and recalled the stages of the Palestinian struggle. The students also marked the anniversary of the establishment of the General Union of Palestinian Students, which also falls on November 29, reports said.

In Bir Zeit itself, an Israeli truck had its windshield smashed in a stone-throwing attack, the Israeli government Arabic language news organ, Al Anba, said.

In Nablus there were demonstrations and a partial commercial strike. Students blocked several streets with stones and burning tyres and stoned Israeli military vehicles as they approached. In one incident, a military vehicle fired shots in the air to disperse the protesters, local reports said.

At Najah National University, classes were disrupted by military checkpoints which prevented students from reaching campus, Al Shaab reported.

The Hebron military governor ordered the Polytechnic closed for the day, apparently in order to prevent demonstrations, Al Fajr Arabic newspaper said.

There were also stone-throwing incidents in al-Arroub refugee camp, on the Bethlehem-Hebron road, and near the village

of Beit Ummar, Hebron district, according to Al Quds. An Israeli soldier driving a military truck fired several shots at youths in Beit Ummar. No one was hurt, according to Al Shaab.

"Sources said that a number of people were detained in connection with stone-throwing," Al Shaab said.

In Jerusalem, a partial commercial strike was in effect all day. Classes were also disrupted in most schools. There was a rally at al-Ibrahimiyyah College.

In the Gaza Strip, there were reports of demonstrations in several refugee camps. Anti-occupation graffiti was daubed on walls the night before.

Studies halted at the teachers training centre there when students held a march, Al Anba and all local papers reported.

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FRENCH PARA DIES IN RENEWED BEIRUT FIGHTING

One French paratrooper was killed, December 1, and a US Marine wounded two days earlier in a week of shelling and kidnapping in and around Beirut. Several Lebanese were reported killed and wounded in clashes between the militias of the Progressive Socialist Party and combined forces of the Lebanese Army and the Phalangists.

The clashes started, November 29, when, according to Beirut Radio quoted here, Phalangists and the army positions in Souq al-Gharb, the Shouf mountains, came under artillery fire. They returned fire. Clashes escalated, and Beirut International Airport and Phalangist-held areas of the Lebanese capital were shelled.

The Lebanese authorities closed the airport, November 30, after renewed shelling. It was still closed the next day as the authorities attempted to extract guarantees from the PSP that there would be no further incidents. At least four people were killed and dozens reported wounded in the day's fighting. According to official Lebanese sources, 700 shells fell on the city. Lebanese police said that 12 people were killed and 30 wounded in the second day of fighting.

The US Marine was slightly wounded when shells fell on the

airport, November 29. The injured American soldier was reported not badly hurt by US sources. He was serving with the 22nd Marine Battalion, which arrived in the city recently. The shelling forced the Marines to remain in their bunkers.

According to Israel Radio, the French paratrooper was killed by a sniper when a convoy in which he was traveling came under fire while patrolling a Shi'ite neighbourhood three kilometres from the centre of the capital. He was the 78th French soldier to die since the multinational forces entered Beirut in September, 1982.

According to reports from Beirut reaching here, there has been an outbreak of kidnapping in the city. *United Press International* said that Phalangists started the spree when they set up roadblocks south of Beirut and abducted Shi'ite travellers. The Shi'ite militias countered by capturing two buses carrying 60 employees of the Lebanese-owned Middle East Airlines. Later the committee in charge of monitoring the two-month old cease-fire around the city negotiated the release of both sets of captives.

Schools were closed in Phalangist-dominated areas, December 1, amid fears of renewed

shelling. The PSP said it would agree to a new cease-fire if there was an end to the shelling of its areas in the Shouf and Iqlim al-Kharoub. They received "fair treatment" from the state-owned media in Lebanon and the Phalangist checkpoints around Beirut were dismantled, according to Israel Radio.

US Navy jets continued their overflights of the city, this week. Syrian jets forced some patrolling aircraft back to US carriers, November 26, according to the official Syrian news agency. Syria's air defence system downed an unmanned Israeli spy plane, November 27, according to Syrian and Israeli reports.

Meanwhile, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel arrived in Washington DC, December 1, for talks with the US regime about the situation. Gemayel, who was mandated by the national reconciliation conference held in Geneva last month to go to the US to mobilise support for an Israeli withdrawal, surprised Israel Radio observers by reportedly saying that his government stands by the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli accords. All factions at the reconciliation talks agreed the US-mediated accords should be frozen when they met. This assurance was repeated to the Secretary General of the Arab League by the Lebanese premier, Shafiq al-Wazzan, November 29.

Ta'amani also reported that a number of the Palestinians freed from Ansar "disappeared" en route to Lydda. Leaders of the released men felt their absence on the flight to Algiers, he said, and they suspect that Israel did not really free them.

Representatives of the released prisoners told reporters in Algiers that all 1100 are "totally committed" to PLO leader Yasser Arafat in his struggle with Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels. Their spokesmen said the arrivals did not include a single supporter of the anti-Arafat factions. (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, November 27, 1983).

Freed Prisoners Report Torture

ALGIERS (AP) — PLO Executive Committee member Jamal Sourani told reporters, November 26, that many of the freed prisoners complained in Algiers they had been tortured during their detention. He said the Palestinians "were treated like common criminals and not at all as prisoners of war under the terms of the Red Cross conventions."

Sourani asserted that conditions in the Israeli prison camps were "comparable to those in Nazi concentration camps." He

said the prisoners were systematically ill-treated and were guarded by convicted common criminals to whom the Israelis gave privileged status.

PLO Lieutenant Colonel Salah Ta'amani, who was president of the prisoners' defence committee in Ansar, said all the political tendencies within the PLO were represented among the 5000 prisoners at the camp, but all agreed on the need for unity "behind our great leader Yasser Arafat."

CEASE-FIRE IN NORTH LEBANON STRONG

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat demanded, November 30, that Saudi Arabian troops escort Palestinian troops loyal to him after they leave Tripoli by sea. Arafat was presenting his conditions for withdrawing his forces to the Chairman of the Higher Coordination Committee, former-Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karamah. He also demanded that Arab League troops or a special UN force be stationed in the Tripoli area to ensure the safety

of his followers, according to reports in Palestinian and Israeli papers.

The PLO Chairman's conditions follow the cease-fire agreement which was announced, November 25, by Saudi Arabia and Syria. The agreement called for strengthening of the cease-fire agreement concluded a few days earlier, the departure of all fighters from Tripoli and surrounding areas and the employment of peaceful methods to negotiate a

political settlement of the inter-Palestinian dispute.

The agreement designated the Higher Coordination Committee to supervise implementation of the agreement.

The proposed settlement was immediately accepted by both parties.

Al Hamishmar Hebrew daily, quoting *Agence France Presse*, said 10 trucks carrying rebel Palestinian fighters and their weapons were seen returning to the Beqa'a Valley.

The cease-fire held all week despite several incidents. Both the forces loyal to PLO leader Yasser Arafat and the Abu Musa troops traded accusations of limited violations of the cease-fire agreement. There were a few hours of shelling, November 25 and 30, but the clashes did not escalate.

Israeli Troops Move South as Raids Continue

Al Fajr Arabic carried *Agence France Presse* quotes from foreign reporters in South Lebanon saying that Israeli troops have been dismantling positions along the Awali River and moving equipment eight kilometres south to the Zaharani River. AFP speculated that the Israeli plan to redeploy comes after an increasing number of hit-and-run attacks in the Sidon area.

The quoted foreign journalists said they saw over 70 trucks loaded with equipment and tanks heading south.

Al Shaab Palestinian daily, quoting foreign news reporters, said Israeli transport trucks redeployed near the Zaharani River. Lebanese official sources expressed astonishment at the Israeli steps and agreed with suggestions that they plan to redeploy, according to reports reaching here. Israeli Army sources denied that they had evacuated positions near the Awali River. The source said that "no changes" in Israeli positions had taken place.

The reported Israeli measures came one day after a patrol was attacked, November 28, with rockets near the southern entrance of Sidon. Al Fajr ran agency reports quoting eyewitnesses who said that one military vehicle received a direct hit. "Ambulances were seen heading to the area of the attack," which was restricted from non-military personnel, the paper added. Israel Radio said, December 1, that a

big blast was heard on the night of November 29 from the vicinity of the Israeli military headquarters in Sidon. The report said that there were no casualties in the explosion. Automatic gunfire was heard in the area of the incident.

A third attack was reported on the night of November 27, in the Nabatiya area. A military convoy came under light arms fire, according to Israeli press reports. An Israeli military spokesperson said there were no casualties. *The Jerusalem Post* said that Israeli troops returned fire.

In a related story, *Associated Press* reported that one of the leaders of the Israeli-established "National Guard" has defected to the Shi'ite Amal Movement. The commander, who gave a press conference in Burj al-Barraneh refugee camp, said he had dissolved the "National Guard" militia after he became convinced that they were being used as a tool of the Israeli Army.

Meanwhile, the state of emergency declared by the Israeli Army on the eve of the Ansar prisoners release remained in force, after several hundred prisoners had left the area for Beirut, according to *The Jerusalem Post*. The paper said that most of those who left South Lebanon have families in the Damour area or in refugee camps in the Tripoli area. Seven Palestinians were reported detained by Phalangist troops, November 29, as they crossed the Awali River near Jezzini. They were released later.



Tripoli was relatively calm this week as a cease-fire between rival Palestinian forces held despite sporadic violations. UNRWA operations in the city resumed November 26.

UNRWA Starts Tripoli Relief

UNRWA completed, November 26, its first emergency ration distribution to Palestine refugees affected by the recent fighting in Tripoli and the nearby Baddawi and Nahr al-Bared refugee camps, according to an official statement. A total of 34,700 refugees received an emergency ration of flour, sugar, rice, sardines, corned beef, jam and tomato paste.

UNRWA also issued 10,000 blankets and 1800 mattresses, as well as kitchen kits, soap and towels to the displaced refugees

in Tripoli. Medical services are being maintained, the organisation said.

In Nahr al-Bared camp, 16 houses were destroyed and 43 damaged. No firm figure is yet available for Baddawi camp — some 100 to 120 houses may have been destroyed. UNRWA schools, clinics and food centres in both camps suffered damage and the UNRWA area office in Tripoli was virtually destroyed. The work of the office is now being done from a hotel south of Tripoli, the agency reported.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 187, December 2, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	27
Number of articles totally censored out	8
Number of articles partially censored but used	5
Number of articles passed	14

Military Withdraws B.U. Closure Order

The Israeli military authorities unconditionally withdrew, November 25, their decision to close Bethlehem University for two months, university sources say. The Catholic-run school was closed three weeks earlier.



The decision was announced after a meeting at the university between the Israeli military coordinator for the occupied territories, Binyamin Ben Eliezer, Shlomo Elia, head of the West Bank 'civil administration,' and Bethlehem University Vice Chancellor Brother Thomas Scanlan and Vice President Dr Anton Sansour. University officials said students should report to classes on December 5.

The meeting, which took place at the university's request, made it possible for the officials to respond to what Brother Thomas called "an unjustified closure decision based on incorrect information." Scanlan told

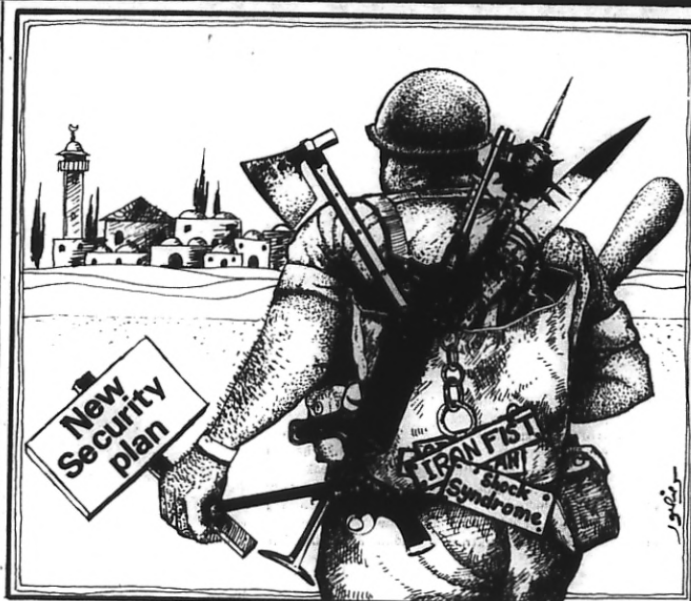
Al Fajr that the university cleared the record and the military authorities reiterated their warnings that "students should not cause disturbances."

University officials vehemently denied that any conditions were demanded in the reopening of the university. "No change whatsoever will occur in the relationship between the administration and student body," Scanlan stressed.

Scanlan could not pinpoint the reason behind the Israeli retraction. Foreign governments and the Vatican (which runs the university) have protested the closure, however.

Bethlehem University officials predicted that barring any further closures, the first term will now end in February. University officials said they were pleased with the decision because it allowed the university to save next year's summer programme, which would have been dumped had the two-month closure run its course.

Bethlehem University was closed, November 2, after students clashed with the Israeli Army when eight members of the university's student body were detained. A number of Palestinian artifacts had been confiscated two weeks earlier from a folklore festival and used by the Israeli authorities as justification for the arrests and closure.



Israeli Reinforcements on WB in New Security Plan

Binyamin Ben Eliezer, Israel's military coordinator for the occupied territories, announced, November 27, the implementation of new security measures throughout the occupied territories. He said the measures were aimed at reducing the number of stone-throwing incidents against settlers.

The new measures include mobilisation of greater numbers of soldiers and the introduction of new technology, according to a variety of reports.

Israeli communications minister Mordechai Zipori, who is standing in at the defence ministry while Moshe Arens is in the US, announced, November 29, that the number of soldiers assigned to patrol the occupied territories, especially at certain focal points, has been increased. Zipori, who was speaking during

a visit to Bracha settlement and the Jewish Yeshiva near Balata refugee camp, Nablus, told settlers that electronic surveillance equipment would be installed on the major roads they use.

Israeli military sources say armed soldiers will be assigned to Israeli buses in the West Bank in order to chase stone-throwers, an *Al Shaab* report said.

Greater army presence was evident in several parts of the occupied territories. A foreign tourist said that in Nablus, November 27, "it seemed there was one soldier for every shop."

At the Jalazon refugee camp, Israeli troops established a new command post overlooking the camp. Residents say that several tents were set up at camp entrances and regular foot patrols pass through the camp.

A permanent command post was also established in a vacant building opposite A'mari

camp, near Ramallah. Soldiers were seen unloading water containers, beds and other equipment into the building. Patrols were seen in the main street of the camp.

Permanent military checkpoints north and south of Jerusalem have caused long delays and harassment, commuters say. Soldiers at the day-time post on the Ramallah side of Kalandia camp and the night-hours post in front of the military outpost in Samira Amis Hotel were making regular ID checks and searching car trunks, causing long traffic jams at peak hours.

The permanent army outpost over the police station near Dheishah refugee camp, outside Bethlehem, has been reinforced with several tents to house military personnel. Dheishah residents say there are now 24-hour-a-day patrols in the main streets of the camp.

Tension Still High on West Bank

Despite the introduction of new security measures announced by Israeli military coordinator for the occupied territories Binyamin Ben Eliezer (see story page 3), demonstrations and attacks on settler traffic continued this week, local papers reported.

Hebron-area settlers opened fire on youths in Halhoul, November 24, according to Israel Television. No injuries were reported, but local reporters said several youngsters were subsequently beaten up.

In Nablus, *Al Fajr* reporters said, 3000 people demonstrated in solidarity with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. Palestinian flags were raised and protestors burned pictures of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

Israeli soldiers shot in the air to disperse demonstrators, according to *Al Fajr* reports.

Nablus remained the centre of tension after the stabbing of a settler (see story page 1). Demonstrators were on the streets again, November 30, to protest settler actions in the city, according to reports in *Al Ittihad* and *Al Fajr*.

The curfew on the market was lifted for two hours, November 29, the paper said, for merchants to clear their stock. They say they have lost JD250,000 worth of stock because of the curfew. The military governor threatened to issue tax demands retroactive to 1967 if locals do not hold a *suha* meeting with settlers, *Al Fajr* reports said.

Bus-stoning incidents were reported from Ramallah and Nablus, November 27.

US and BZU Volunteers Held

Twenty-one American students from St. Olaf's College, Minnesota, and members of the Bir Zeit University students council were arrested, November 25, and held for several hours for participating in community work in Jabalya refugee camp, the Gaza Strip.

A BZU volunteer told *Al Fajr* that the arrests were made as they restored the camp cemetery: "As students were working in the graveyard, at about 11:00 am, jeeploads of Israeli soldiers surrounded us. All of the American students and seven Bir Zeit

students were arrested and taken to Jabalya military headquarters. The rest of the group fled."

Attorney Lea Tsemel was contacted and all the students were released at 4:00 pm. They were given their ID cards. One released volunteer told *Al Fajr* that while in detention, the American students were told by soldiers that Jabalya residents were "dirty and like animals." The voluntary work was abandoned after 90 minutes.

The Israeli military have broken up every BZU student community work project in the Gaza Strip for the past two years.

Anti-League Palestinians Sentenced to Life

Two Palestinian ... received life sentences and five were jailed for between 8-14 years, November 29, after the military court in Ramallah convicted them of carrying out operations, including the assassination of Yusef Khatib, the Ramallah Village League head, his son and another collaborator two years ago.

Kamal Saleh Hassan Radwan, 27, from Beitillo, Ramallah district, and Aref Suleiman Mohammed Barar, 28, from Kufr Malek, were sentenced to life for membership in the Popular Front

for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), possessing weapons and explosives and killing Khatib, his son Kazem and Nidal Qatash.

Nidal Zaki Malki, 26, from Kufr Malek, and Yusef Abed Ahmad Awadeh, 21, from Deir Ammar, Ramallah district, were sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for PFLP membership, undergoing military training in Lebanon and carrying out military operations.

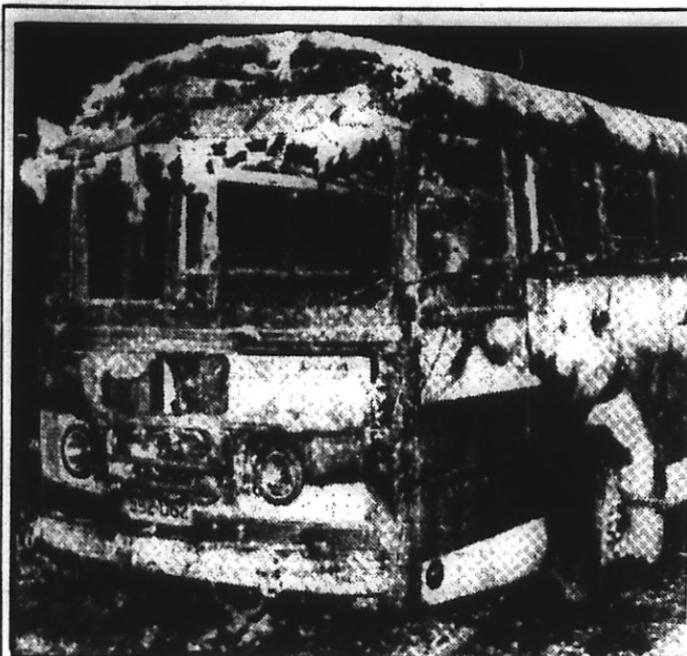
Nidal was also accused of preparing contacts to kill collaborators, attempting to throw a grenade at an Israeli bus and possessing weapons. Yusef Abed was accused of receiving three

levels of training in Lebanon and Bulgaria and burning a collaborator's car.

Tareq Mohammed Barat, 25, and Mohammed Namoura, 28, both from Kufr Malek, were sentenced to 14 years on similar charges.

Ziad Aref Rustom, 24, was sentenced to eight years.

The eight-person ... cell was detained in November and December 1982. Yusef Khatib and his son, Kazem, were killed on November 17, 1981. Nidal Qatash was assassinated on July 24, 1982.



Nablus bus burned by vigilantes following the stabbing of an Israeli settler. The Jerusalem Post reported, November 30, that a guard at Najah University was injured, November 28, when unidentified assailants attacked them late at night.

RACISTS GO PUBLIC IN JAFFA

Israelis in Jaffa opposed living in the same building as Arabs, according to Yediot Aharanot, November 29. The paper explained that Israeli residents of one of the city's quarters petitioned the housing ministry, which has recently started selling

and leasing apartments to Arabs in the neighbourhood.

One member of the neighbourhood's committee was quoted as saying: "They are our enemies. I am for coexistence, but not in the same building."

The paper added that the Israeli inhabitants of this 48 apartment block neighbourhood, which was completed three months ago, want Arabs to live in a separate neighbourhood and say Arabs "shouldn't have a foothold in a Jewish environment."

Israeli Prisoners Threatened with Court Martial

"The six Israeli prisoners who were released last week were captured in a humiliating way and they shamed the state of Israel and the Israeli forces," former (Israeli) Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan said in a meeting with the members of the Rotary Club in Tiberias, November 28.

Yediot Aharanot reported that according to Eitan's viewpoint, the six prisoners should be tried "because they were

captured without putting up a fight and they surrendered immediately to their captors, although they outnumbered them."

Eitan also criticised the "festival" with which the prisoners were received and said that it was "unnecessary."

Eitan's views were echoed by Israel's President Haim Herzog and former commander of the central region Uri Orr, the next

day. Speaking to Druze during a tour of the Galilee, Herzog said he agreed with the tone of the ex-Chief of Staff's words.

The six former prisoners' families protested the attacks on their sons. One mother told reporters that she was glad her son had thrown down his weapons as she didn't want him getting killed for nothing.

Herzog said later that he thought the six prisoners had suffered enough.

REPEATED LEBANON CALL-UPS 'ILLEGAL' CHARGE YESH GVUL

Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit), the movement of reserve soldiers who refuse to serve in Lebanon, and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel call illegal an army regulation which obliges commanders to immediately call up again any soldier sent to a military prison for refusing to serve.

At a press conference, November 24, Ruth Gavison of the ACRI said that in April the army issued regulations for calling up reserve soldiers so that any soldier

refusing to serve in Lebanon had to be issued with a new call-up order as soon as he was released from prison. She said that the officer commanding the Israeli Army's Manpower Branch agreed at a meeting with the association that the army's power under the law is only to call soldiers for real military service and promised to modify the regulation. This had not been done, Gavison said. A petition to the High Court is being considered she said.

Sari Shein, whose husband

Ya'acov is serving his second prison term for refusing to serve in Lebanon, said he was immediately issued with a new call-up order which would take effect on his release - "and the effect will be a kind of life-imprisonment," she said.

Gavison stressed that the ACRI is not associating itself with the political aims of Yesh Gvul but will join the petition to challenge what it sees as the abuse of the army's power under the law. (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, November 29, 1983).

DHEISHEH RESIDENTS OPPOSE SCHOOL CLOSURE

Over 200 residents of Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem, attended a meeting at the local UNRWA office, November 26, to discuss the Israeli military's threat to close preparatory and elementary schools in the camp. Earlier the Israeli authorities told Abdullah Hamdan, UNRWA director in Hebron, that they will close the two schools if stone-throwing from the camp continues.

At the meeting, residents, including Talal Habab, camp manager, and George Tarah, school principal, rejected the threats.

In a statement they said: "This threat coincides with at-

tempts to empty Dheisheh. The Israeli authorities have the responsibility for residents' safety."

The plan to close the camp schools "fits (Israeli minister without portfolio Mordechai) Ben Porat's plan to dismantle the Palestinian camps in the West Bank," they said.

The meeting also demanded UNRWA open the Youth Social Centre, which has been closed for two years. They asked UNRWA to fulfill its role in administering the camp.

Last week, Ben Porat told a press conference that Israel is raising funds for a US\$1.5 billion project to liquidate the camps.

Houses Fenced in Jerusalem Grab

15 metres of his house.

A 150-metre-long barbed wire fence was erected, November 13, around houses in the Bab al-Hawa quarter of the Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina. It closes a road leading to 10 houses. The area was grabbed by the Israelis "for military purposes," in September.

Omar Yusef Hroum, who owns the 1250 dunums upon which his licensed two-storey house was built in 1975, told Al Fajr an Israeli engineer and three soldiers erected the fence within

Two days earlier, Israeli surveyors were seen drawing maps of the 20 dunums of built-up land and the area around it.

Hroum said he went to the zoning department in Ramallah, November 14, where he learned that the land had been confiscated for military purposes.

Hroum said he went back daily and that an Israeli official promised him, November 27, that "perhaps the authorities will remove the fence." There is a large military complex in the area.



Palestinian Prisoner Held Back

RAMALLAH - The family of Ziad Abu Ein, a Palestinian prisoner at Nafha, confirmed yesterday that their son is still in detention in Israel.

They said Ziad was supposed to be among the prisoners released in the exchange, but as he was riding the bus he was taken back to jail.

Gaza Artist's Detention Extended

Gaza artist Fathi Ghabin's detention was extended to December 12. It is believed that the Israeli authorities are preparing to hold a fast trial for the Palestinian artist and accuse him of producing a large number of 'inciting' posters.

Ghabin's work represents the feelings of the Palestinian people and he is considered the victim of the crackdown which was recently announced by the Israeli defence minister. (Translation: Al Talia, December 1, 1983).

Family Asks Court to Try Soldiers

Israeli defence minister to try the border guards responsible for their deaths.

In a letter written by the two families, they said the border guards could have arrested the two men without shooting directly at them.

JUDGE: EXPULSION OF PRISONERS ILLEGAL

Israeli High Court Judge Moshe Etzioni expressed surprise at and said he doubted there was a legal basis for the expulsion of Palestinian political prisoners in the framework of the prisoner exchange which was carried out on November 23 between Israel and the PLO.

Al Hamishmar quoted the judge as saying that the measure which was supposed to be implemented was an amnesty, "namely a recommendation from the justice minister to the president of the state and a confirmation of the amnesty by the president." (Translation: Al Hamishmar, November 29, 1983).

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UN and Palestine

It is 36 years since the UN General Assembly decided to partition Palestine, yet the Zionists' country and the imperialists with their puppet regimes and instruments in the area still face two physical obstacles to their designs for domination: refugee camps and the independent existence of the Palestinian people.

Conspiracies by Arabs and their Western masters continue to target these two obstacles, trying, along with Israel, to erase them.

The stronger the Palestinian independent voice becomes, the more brutal and savage the aggression against it. Since 1968, when the PLO started representing independent Palestinian aspirations, the attacks have risen a ladder of ferocity and vulgarity.

Israel waged all-out wars to end the independent status of the PLO in 1968, 1978 and 1982. It failed. Israel also took action after action against the refugee camps, from the 1970 Sharon plan for the Gaza Strip camps to the Ben Porat plan of 1983 for the West Bank camps.

Arab regimes helped. The Jordanians massacred thousands of Palestinians in 1970 and temporarily pushed PLO forces out of Jordan. But contrary to the wishes of Jordan, the PLO got increased support from Palestinians and received Arab recognition of its representative status.

More support came despite the Syrian invasion of Lebanon in 1976 and the Israeli invasion of 1978. More than a hundred countries of the world recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Even the UN was forced to adopt November 29 as a day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, with all that this entails, rather than commemorating Palestine's dismemberment.

Nowadays the aggressive alliance is using a sharper weapon to achieve its goals: internal fighting and self-destruction. This is combined with preparations for war that will directly involve the USA. It is doomed to fail because the Palestinian problem will only be solved when the Palestinian people achieve their rights to return, self-determination and independent statehood.

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Shamir and Arens in US to Fill Massive Aid Shopping List

By Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent



Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir arrived in Washington DC with the usual very long shopping list. The unusual thing about this visit is the feeling in both Israeli and US circles that this time the shopping list must be met in full. Observers explain that the US needs Israeli cooperation in the region.

Shamir's visit, his first as Israeli prime minister, comes at no better time for Israel. Given that the US is mired in Beirut alongside Amin Gemayel, has suffered heavy casualties and seems politically unable to strike at the root of burgeoning Syrian influence, it needs Israeli firepower. The time when the US would be in clear need of Israeli services, long awaited by former Israeli prime ministers, is now upon us. And Israel, never hesitant in forwarding its demands to the US, is demanding a higher price than ever.

The question of whether Israel is indeed in a position to counterbalance the power of Syria and its allies in Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East is not being asked. US priorities, as understood here, are withdrawal — within the 18 months allocated by Congress and the Senate — of Marines from Beirut. This requires among other things the withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli troops. The Israelis are already on record with their refusal to withdraw unless and until Syrian and PLO forces pull out as well. The Syrians will not do so voluntarily until and unless the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli agreement is abrogated.

For their part Israel and the US, which underwrote the agreement, keep stressing the soundness of the agreement and their refusal to reopen or renegotiate it.

It is doubtful that Israel would be willing, it is believed here, to initiate a move which may unravel the knot in Lebanon short of waging war against Syria, which the Israeli public will not support, according to US-based observers.

In the meantime, with elections around the corner, there is much too much enthusiasm about "improving" American-Israeli ties for these questions to be addressed seriously. This shortsightedness is currently coupled with a readiness here to provide Israel with virtually all it asks for. The Shamir visit thus is being billed as highly important and is being treated as such. Reagan met Shamir twice. Vice President George Bush, the secretaries of state and defence, Congressional leaders and others are all lined up.

On touching down in Washington, Shamir played a tune which never sounds wrong to Ronald Reagan. His statement was replete with an accusation that Syria is threatening peace in the Middle East and included references to the attacks on the Marines and Israeli and French troops. He described these as a painfully shared American-Israeli experience. Shamir, like high-ranking US officials, blames Syria for the bombings. Shamir also stressed Syrian-Soviet ties — the source of all troubles in the Middle

East, according to the US and Israel. The requests, thus, for military aid to Israel can easily be justified in American eyes.

Early predictions of the actual shopping lists included more US military aid and American approval to use aid dollars to develop the Lavi jet fighter, once US technical know-how arrives.

The Lavi, once it reaches production stage, will compete with American-made planes, a factor not lost on local manufacturers, who have opposed US aid thus far.

Israel would also like to have joint Israeli-American exercises in Israel, become a store for US arms and munitions and have American ships repaired and serviced in Israeli ports. Shamir is also said to want better sharing of intelligence information — in short more US dependence on Israel in the Middle East. As the meetings progressed it came clear that all of these things, with the possible exception of intelligence sharing, and more had been achieved.

A senior administration official, briefing reporters at the White House about Shamir's visit, said that the US intends to maintain a qualitative Israeli edge in the region.

Shamir was also expected to do some hard talking on economic aid. The plight of the Israeli economy is well-known. Israel has the largest per capita foreign debt in the world at US\$21.5 billion, including a debt to the US of US\$8.2 billion, and is the largest recipient of US foreign aid, according to the US Department of State's Bureau of Public Affairs. Shamir's top priority request will be for the remaining US\$850 million in loans, from a total aid package of US\$3.2 billion for fiscal year 1983, also to be converted to grants. Very few experts would be willing to bet that Shamir's request will not be granted.

The implication of the items on Shamir's list of demands is that by meeting them the US will treat Israel as its only friend in the Middle East. In return for all of this, it is believed all the US would like is Shamir's help in keeping the September 1, 1982 Reagan Plan alive by simply freezing further settlement activity in the occupied territories. Shamir rejected this both before departing Tel Aviv and in the US.

Another US request, which is also expected to be turned down, is that Israel be less "surprising" to US policy-makers in its behavior in the region. The annexation of the Golan Heights and the bombing attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor are cited as examples.

If surprises are what US officials expect of Israeli leaders, observers believe the latter will not be surprised by US officials. Most, if not all, of Israel's requests to the US were always favourably answered. Shamir and his party will not be surprised this time, especially since Reagan is now expected to run hard for another four years in the White House. But if ever there was a proper and timely use for the Hebrew word *chutzpa*, Shamir's rejection of the simple US request is it.

Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People

Today, November 29, the United Nations celebrates the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. Today marks the 36th anniversary of the UN decision to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states in 1947.

That this day is commemorated as a day of solidarity with the Palestinian people proves that the Palestinian issue has moved a long way in the international scene and taken a position prominent enough to draw the interest of the whole world.

The past decades — with all the tragedies and massacres committed against the Palestinian people — prove how capable they are of transforming conspiracies and challenges into positive gains through hard work.

When we talk about the Day of Solidarity with the Palestinians, we

should not forget what the PLO leadership is facing right now. We in the occupied territories, realising the gravity of the situation, hope that every Palestinian who is concerned about his national cause will take this occasion to stand behind the legitimate Palestinian leadership to enable our people to pass through this crisis and make good use of all the international gains they achieved.

We also hope the international community will use this occasion to increase its understanding of and support for the Palestinian cause, working towards helping the Palestinians regain their national rights.

AL FAJR



Today, November 29, commemorates the 1947 United Nations decision to partition Palestine. It has also been dedicated by the UN as the Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.

This year the anniversary has come at a time when those who are supposed to show solidarity with our people are working to liquidate its legitimate structure and destroy its unity and independence.

As we honour all those concerned for the Palestinians, we emphasise that from past experience we know our people is capable of safely overcoming all difficulties and achieving their legitimate rights to freedom and independence.

AL SHAAB

The Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), held in Washington, DC, November 10-13, concluded with a call on the parties within Fatah to end the fighting in north Lebanon immediately. AAUG also called for hostilities between Iran and Iraq to cease and urged respect for and implementation of political and human rights in the Arab world.

The well-attended annual convention, held at the elegant Hyatt Regency Hotel, one of the few US companies to defy international law and US government policy by building a new hotel with an Israeli company in the occupied territories, was addressed by experts in Middle East affairs.

A personal representative of Chairman Yasir Arafat read a message from the PLO leader in Tripoli to unanimous acclaim. Arafat described the attacks on the PLO forces by Syrian, Libyan and Fatah dissidents as "a most dangerous and brutal one, even in light of last year's Zionist invasion and the siege of Beirut." He accused Arab governments of silence and inaction. Arafat said the PLO's enemies were using "a few agents and lackies" to achieve their objectives. Speaking before the fall of the refugee camps, Arafat said the Libyan and Syrian artillery and rockets which continue to bombard Nahr al-Bared, Badawi and Tripoli "leave us no choice but to defend ourselves and to give all that we have." He blamed both Syria and Libya for the continued fighting despite "our insistence for the past months that we seek dialogue," he said.

Arafat also argued that the "bloody massacres" in the north Lebanon camps and Tripoli are "no different from what happened at Tel al-Za'atar, Sabra and Shatila." Arafat concluded with assurances that the Palestinian revolution is even stronger today than

AAUG Calls For End to Fatah Fighting

by Ghassan Bishara

last year and "more determined to defend" the PLO than ever. He praised the Palestinian people for rallying behind the PLO as "the greatest guarantee that the revolution will remain steadfast and will succeed."

Speaking at a banquet, November 12, George Hawi, leader of the Lebanese Communist Party, reaffirmed the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people "despite attempts by some adversaries to drive a wedge between the PLO and the Communist Party in Tripoli." Hawi described the situation in Lebanon as "highly tense." He said US military involvement in support of the Amin Gemayel regime threatens to re-ignite the Lebanese civil war. Hawi insisted that abrogation of the May 17 Lebanon-Israel agreement is the only way to achieve peace in Lebanon. Short of this, Hawi said, "the US will have another Vietnam on its hands, especially if it insists on actively taking Gemayel's side."

Hawi called for an unconditional Israeli withdrawal in accordance with UN resolutions 508 and 509. Then and only then, he added, will Lebanon once again become sovereign, independent, democratic and Arab.

Hawi criticised current conditions in the Arab world, which, he said, allowed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Hawi singled out the "Steadfastness and Confrontation Front" for its inability to confront Israel. "It was very humiliating

for both the Palestinians and Lebanese in Lebanon that not one demonstration took place in the whole Arab world" during Israel's three-month attack on Lebanon and Beirut, he said. On the other hand, "democratic forces in Israel" were the streets of Tel Aviv protesting the invasion, Hawi pointed out. The Lebanese Communist Party secretary was careful to distinguish between the Arab people and the Arab regimes. The latter, he said, "have failed in preparing the Arab masses for the inevitable battle" and in reforming Arab social and political conditions.

The convention's resolutions focused on events in north Lebanon and left no doubt that the AAUG and its members stand in support of the PLO. Its Chairman Yasir Arafat and criticise Syrian and Libyan interference in PLO affairs. "The association reiterates its unwavering commitment to and support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, under the leadership of Chairman Yasir Arafat," they said.

Other resolutions condemned the US, Israel and "certain Arab governments who are trying to destroy the PLO" by aiming to revoke the 1974 Rabat resolutions through which (the PLO) was recognised as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The AAUG also calls for strengthening national unity, "democratic dialogue and a resolution of differences, and denounces the role of the Arab and non-Arab governments to control the Palestine national movement and specifically the role of the Syrian and Libyan governments, which are attempting to liquidate the Palestinian movement." The resolution also condemned the Syrian-Libyan onslaught on the camps.

The AAUG also supports the "complete independence of the Palestinian national will from any external interference."

On Lebanon, the AAUG expressed support for the democratic forces and "for an end to the archaic sectarian system based on privilege, discrimination and grossly unequal distribution of national wealth." They also "salute the resistance to the Israeli's presence in South Lebanon." The association supported calls for the abrogation of the May 17 agreement and for an "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American Marines" from Lebanon.

Once again the AAUG called for a halt to all hostilities between Iran and Iraq.

Regarding the status of human rights in the Arab world, the AAUG called for the establishment of a non-governmental commission to continually monitor the status of human rights in the Arab states and occupied Palestine. "With profound dismay and anger," the AAUG noted the Arab governments' use of torture and arrest for political beliefs, censorship, detention without charge and physical liquidation of persons in these states. Israel was denounced for its maintenance of a "concentration camp at Ansar for thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians."

Association members elected Abbas Nasrawi president for the next year. He replaces Nasser Aruri

The following declaration was published by the International Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons on November 11, 1983:

Since its creation at the beginning of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in June 1982, the International Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons functions essentially within a legal framework, especially basing its activities on international humanitarian law. The Centre has been collecting and diffusing information and making representations

To Affirm Principles of Legitimacy

to national and international authorities, organisations and institutions.

The present situation in the north of Lebanon, where the Palestinian refugee camps and the town of Tripoli are subject to continuous bombardments and are besieged by a coalition of military forces directly submitted to Syrian command, requires us to take up this particular issue in accordance with

the principles that up to now have guided our action.

.....

In this respect it should be recalled that in the north of Lebanon Syria is under the obligation of respecting the duties of an occupying power and that,

as a signatory of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, it has to apply the statutes of these Conventions, in particular those of the 4th Convention referring to the protection of civilian populations, covering in this instance Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. Confronted with this situation, the centre will continue its activities in support of the prisoners, deportees and missing persons, as well as of the civilian populations in the Lebanese territories occupied by Israel. In addition to this, we will carry out the same type of activities in relation to the armed conflict in the north of Lebanon

Six thousand Jerusalemites participated, November 18, in the funeral of Ishaq Maraghi, a Palestinian political prisoner who died of a heart attack in Beer Sheva prison two days earlier. Maraghi (Abu Jamal) is the brother of Fatah dissidents leader Abu Musa. The Maraghi family has deep roots in Jerusalem, and Abu Jamal and Abu Musa's mother still resides in Jerusalem's Silwan neighbourhood.

For many Israeli and other 'foreign' observers, the relationship between the PLO and the population of the occupied territories is not usually clear. These 'Arabists' often express the wish that the PLO would disappear — witness the recent flood of articles on the organisation's imminent demise which are only now being revised. Israeli experts in particular often aver that the PLO is completely foreign to Palestinians in the occupied territories and that they only support it under duress.

Menahem Milson, an Arabist professor at the Hebrew University and one-time 'civil administrator', made this myth an article of faith and tried to make it reality with the repression and killings of 1982. He kept it up to the end, quitting after the Sabra and Shatila massacres with the statement that the PLO is different from the Palestinians.

Because of the political investment in this story, ordinary Israelis and foreigners are often shocked to discover the virtually unanimous popular support among Palestinians which the PLO has.

Palestinians often explain this consensus with the assertion that 'the PLO is the Palestinian people and the Palestinian people is the PLO.' Trite, perhaps, but Palestinian support does rely not just on the fact that the PLO has championed their rights nor that the PLO has brought legitimacy and recognition to Palestinians but because of strong family links with PLO members. Most officials and activists, senior and junior, still have direct family links with the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Triangle, Galilee, Lydda, Ramle, Jaffa, Haifa or Acre.

The Israelis discover these family ties every time a PLO official in the diaspora is killed and his family here demands the return of the body. This is always denied, and his family holds a memorial ceremony.

One story doing the rounds among journalists tells of an Israeli newspaper editor who, being told of the presence of relatives of a PLO official in Jerusalem, queried his reporter five times, not believing the information was accurate.

Danger

For the most part, West Bankers with immediate family connections to senior ranks of the PLO try to keep quiet about the subject. Publicity, they feel, could have negative official and public repercussions. Several relatives

The family-links of PLO leaders to their homeland are strong and deep, Daoud Kuttub found when he looked into the question for *Al Fajr*. They give the lie to Israeli attempts to distinguish between Palestinians and the PLO, he concludes.

Familial Ties Bind the PLO with the Occupied Territories



Naim and Tawfiq Tarazi, brothers of PLO delegate to the UN, Zuhdi Tarazi, in their Jerusalem Travel Agency. Below, Kaddoumi's Hardware Shop, owned by relatives of Farouq Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's diplomatic department/ST photos

Virtually all PLO officials have family here. Since Israeli authorities forbid any contact with the PLO, "simply talking to relatives is a criminal offence."



who *Al Fajr* contacted spoke of their concern that they may face physical attack from Israelis, especially extremist settlers. Some recalled the explosions which maimed two West Bank mayors in 1980, asserting that the Israeli media

had prepared the ground for the attacks with their representations of the mayors and their reports of their political positions.

Officially, relatives of PLO officials (in the West Bank and Israel) are caught

in a very difficult dilemma. According to Israeli civil and military law, 'contact with an enemy agent' is strictly forbidden. The law names the PLO and all factions within it as 'enemy or hostile forces.' Palestinians convicted of such contact have been sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to 10 years. Thus simply talking to their brothers, sons, cousins and nephews is a criminal offence. The majority of these local residents try as much as possible simply not to make contact.

Sometimes links are made through third parties or in the case of family emergencies through the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Some mothers who want to see their sons' make the long and difficult journey across the Jordan River and meet their loved ones in Jordan or Syria.

Virtually all the PLO's top officers have family here.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's cousins still live in the Gaza Strip.

Arafat, whose real name is Qadweh, was born in Jerusalem. His mother's family, Abu Sa'ud, is from the city and he spent his early childhood there before moving to Gaza. Later his family left to Egypt. His parents have since died.

Famous names leap out of the pages of the phone books of the Arab areas of the country.

Jerusalem boasts several members of the Sous family (Ibrahim Sous is the PLO's representative in Paris). Farouq Kaddoumi, a member of the PLO executive committee and head of the PLO's diplomatic department, also has several relatives in the town, as do Faysal Aweidah, the PLO's representative in London, Hanna Nasser, member of the PLO executive committee, and Hatem Hussein, the deputy of the PLO's mission to the UN and many others in the organisation.

George Habash, general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, still has family in Lydda and Jerusalem.

Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) and Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), the most senior officers after Arafat, have family ties to Gaza.

Some of the PLO leaders who were killed in the past few years also have relatives here: Issam Sartawi, former special ambassador to Europe, came from Sarta, near Nabulus; Naim Khadr, the PLO's representative in Brussels, was originally from Zababdeh, near Jenin; relatives of Sa'ed Sayel (Abu Walid), head of the PLO operations room during the Beirut siege, still live in Kufir Qallil, near Nabulus.

Project Loving Care

This is Louisa, 9 years old. She lives in occupied Palestine, in one room with her 6 brothers and sisters. Their house and farm were expropriated by the military authorities.

This is Hussein, 3 years old. He lives in Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon. His father was killed in the war. He lives with his mother, 2 sisters and 5-month old brother. They have no income.



These are only two of the hundreds of destitute children UNITED HOLY LAND FUND is committed to help through two of its projects. PROJECT LOVING CARE has been helping Louisa and others like her since 1969, and was extended after last year's invasion in Lebanon to include Hussein and others like him through PROJECT LOVING CARE — LEBANON.

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Bernard Cohen: What is it like to be a Palestinian archaeologist in Jerusalem today?

Mahmoud Hawari: To begin with, there is the question of principle: Jerusalem, notably East Jerusalem, has been under Israeli occupation since 1967. In spite of the resolutions of UNESCO, which forbid an occupying power to undertake archaeological excavations in the area under its control, the Israelis have developed archaeological research in East Jerusalem to dramatic proportions, with contempt for the sentiments of the Arab population of the city. There have been, notably, the excavations of Abraham Mazar and of Meir Ben-Dov not far from the Haram in the Old City, the excavations of the 'City of David', opposite the village of Silwan, and many others as well.

This archaeological effort obviously reflects political motives: in this sense one can say the "political" annexation of East Jerusalem has given birth to an attempt at "cultural" annexation, in the name of historical justification. As an archaeologist I certainly cannot be opposed to progress in research. I studied this discipline at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with Israeli professors. But I must note that archaeological excavations, as they are (being carried out), contribute to the tensions between Jews and Arabs which dominate this city because they are part of the political discrimination, and in the final analysis, pose a danger to the Palestinian population and to possible coexistence between Jews and the Arabs.

Q: Is this to say that archaeological research in Israel denies Arab history and culture?

A: There is definitely discrimination. The Israeli archaeologists research, above all, the historical roots of the Jewish people in Palestine; they acknowledge themselves. And if during their

In Israel, ancient history is front page news, and Israeli archaeologists are in the front-line of attempts to build a picture of unbroken Jewish presence all over Palestine. Study of other periods and influences takes a back seat to this 'national priority'. In this interview for the French journal *Autrement*, Bernard Cohen interviews Palestinian archaeologist Mahmoud Hawari on the political implications of Israel's digging.

For Whom Do the Stones Speak?

work they uncover vestiges of Arab civilisation within their zone, it will always be denigrated, left in the shadow. This approach is particularly obvious in Jerusalem, where all efforts concern the Herodian period and the location of the Temple.

Obviously, they cannot deny the facts — the concrete evidence of Arab history in this land — but they can diminish its importance. In the excavation site of Meir Ben-Dov, for example, the ruins of a palace of the Omayyad period were uncovered but were never given due worth — placed within a historical perspective. On the other hand, despite the awesome development of

archaeological research in Jerusalem there has been very little research done on the period of Arab dominance, not that archaeological evidence is lacking. I have decided to devote myself to it as a first priority. We know very little, in fact, about the city under the Omayyads, about its architectural reality.

Q: Was the period under study when the city was under Jordanian control, before 1967?

A: I am not precisely aware of efforts undertaken by the Jordanian authorities in the archaeological field before 1967, and I don't think the funds from Jordan are at present slated for this research.



Digging underway at Old City wall

Moreover, there is no Arab archaeological institute in Jerusalem and I doubt that if one existed that Israel would allow it to function freely. I am not sure, but I doubt it.

It is beyond a doubt that during the Jordanian period, archaeological work was very limited, as in the entire region. There were few Arab archaeologists. Since then, archaeological research has become well-entrenched in Jordan, and, were Jerusalem once again under Jordanian control, more significant efforts could be anticipated.

Q: Must, then, archaeological research in Jerusalem be pursued by Jewish and Arab teams, each concerned solely with its own past?

A: Scientific research is indivisible. It is not divided along the interests of this group or that. I do, for my part, favour strict cooperation between Jewish and Arab institutes in archaeological work in Jerusalem because the two peoples have roots here and an ancient culture. Unfortunately, I do not foresee the place for such collaboration in the near future, as we are not presently in a situation of equality; it is not possible to have cooperation under military occupation.

There are many Israeli archaeologists ready to work with Arab specialists. I myself have participated in Israeli excavations and I will do it again. But individual good-will is not sufficient. One cannot demand of Palestinian archaeologists to answer for research in keeping with the annexation of East Jerusalem by the state of Israel. Until the political situation allows for such cooperation, we preoccupy ourselves with the training of Palestinian archaeologists, who have advanced within the last few years in spite of the fact that numerous Arab researchers have left Palestine for the Arab countries or for the United States.

(Translation: *Autrement*, October, 1983)

This year's annual report by Israel's state comptroller, the watchdog office over the running of the government, discussed what can only be called the "ripping off" of Arab workers by military government employment offices. This, says *Al Fajr's* Attallah Najjar in this article on the report, not only violates international law and human rights conventions, but Israel's own legislation.

How Occupied Territories Workers Are Robbed



"The employment agencies take the money from the employers and pay the employees after making deductions. No one then knows how the money taken in deductions is spent."

Before examining the subject, some background may be helpful. In July 1968, the Israeli Knesset Economic Affairs Committee decreed that the Arab labourers from the West Bank should be paid salaries equal to that of Israeli workers doing the same job and living in similar social conditions. They were both to get equal social benefits, the committee decided.

According to this ruling, the (military government) employment department takes part of the workers' salaries and saves them on their behalf in a special fund, from which they draw benefits as they need them. Figures indicate that in 1981, 43,000 workers from the West Bank were employed in Israel by the (military) employment agencies. They worked 10.3 million days, of which 1.4 million days were in agriculture, 5.7 million in industry and services and 3.2 million in construction. Their employers paid the employment agencies a total of IS1.54 billion, plus IS431 million in overtime and bonuses. The employers also paid IS647 million into retirement and social services funds for the workers.

The employment agencies take the money from the employers and pay the employees after making deductions. No one then knows how the money taken in deductions is spent.

On this, the Israeli state comptroller's report says, on page 849: "It is the right of the workers from the occupied territories to get money for vacations, holidays, illness, clothing, like... Israeli workers according to Israeli rules." The report adds that in 1981, Arab workers from the occupied lands submitted bills for IS177.1 million for social services but were paid only IS53.1 million by the employment agencies. The difference

is because these payments were not linked to the cost-of-living index, as is the case with those of Israeli workers, therefore cancelling the real value of the compensation.

This means that the Arab worker who should have gotten IS10,000 for vacations and holidays for 1980 and did not claim it then but wants to draw it now receives only IS10,000. The Israeli

worker, whose benefits are linked to the cost-of-living increases, would get 10 times as much as the Arab worker.

The question to be asked now is: where is all the money the employment agencies took from the Arab workers? The sums are astronomical because of inflation in Israel.

Israeli law also states that Arab workers from the occupied lands should

get redundancy compensation. Construction workers are allowed 9.5 percent of the total sum they made during their work with the company. Other sectors should get 7.5 percent of their total earnings. In addition to this, workers should get 5 percent per annum interest and 80 percent of the compensation indexed until the day the worker is paid.

On this subject the state comptroller said the employment agencies linked compensation to the cost-of-living index only until the day the worker is fired. This is not done in cases of Israeli workers. If one takes account of the long period between dismissal and the payment of compensations, it will be realised that Arab workers lose a great deal of the value of their money.

For example, if two workers, one Israeli the other Arab, were due IS100,000 compensation after being laid off by the same company and inflation was 50 percent between the day they were fired and the day they received the money, the Israeli worker would leave the agency with IS150,000 and the Arab with only IS100,000.

In conclusion, the Israeli comptroller says, on page 850 of his annual report, that until March 31, 1982, there was IS892,145,122 in the social services fund for the Arab workers from the occupied lands. This amount, which was taken from the salaries of the Arab workers, is much more than the real value because of the inflation rate.

The dangerous part in all this is that all this money is used for things no one knows much about. All that is certain is that this is in contradiction with the reason the funds were created — that is, the welfare of the workers from the occupied territories.

It takes two to tango — and in the West Bank, it takes two to achieve virtually anything in the development field, including money and Israeli approval. Projects in the occupied territories need all the money they can get; but when the cash is available, they then need Israeli permission to disperse it.

Despite this, several organisations, realising the crucial needs of the Palestinian people under occupation, have contributed generously to efforts to develop West Bank towns and villages. One such is the Washington-based American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) association. As the name indicates, ANERA describes itself as a "charitable organisation working to increase assistance in cash and kind from Americans to Palestinians and Lebanese."

ANERA was founded after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war by Americans and Arab-Americans involved in some way with the Middle East, according to Henry Selz, director of the ANERA Jerusalem office. ANERA includes businesses with heavy investment in the Middle East or individuals who have some kind of vested cultural or academic interest in the region. The current ANERA board includes oil company executives and other businesspeople, politicians, academics and journalists, reflecting the diversity of professional individuals interested in seeing development in the Middle East, particularly for the Palestinians.

Most of ANERA'S financial support comes from the United States Agency for International Development (AID). Yet, despite such influential backers, including the US Department of State, AID's supervisor, ANERA is still not able to dispose of its funds in ways it feels are most needed.

A 1981 ANERA newsletter stated the problem explicitly: "... a number of planned and fully-funded projects... were not executed because the Israeli military occupation authorities... have not yet approved their implementation." The newsletter goes on to say that for the year 1981, US\$150,000 donated for "humanitarian actions, for example scholarships for young orphans in primary schools, support for community-run mother/child health clinics, funds to complete a centre for a women's benevolent society, and teachers' salaries at a school for retarded children," all in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, were not approved by the Israeli military.

Much of the problem is bureaucratic delay. Some of these projects and others, to the total value of millions of dollars, were approved later.

One such project is the US\$500,000 Tarqumya Agricultural Cooperative, near the Hebron olive nursery. Local farmers, members in the cooperative, saw the need for their own olive nursery where they would be able to purchase seedlings at low prices. With help from ANERA, such a nursery was set up. It now plants 80,000 seedlings per annum and has plans for future expansion. The 1300 members of the cooperative, who join by paying a one-time JD25.5 membership fee, buy the seedlings at half the market rate. The Tarqumya cooperative provides other benefits for members and farmers in general. It recently purchased, with ANERA money, a bulldozer and a tractor for use in a land reclamation project. They also run a seasonal loan fund from which farmers can borrow.

These three projects have transformed the Tarqumya Olive Press Cooperative, which has been in operation since 1951. The cooperative is a member in the Jordanian Cooperatives Organisation, as is the case with every West Bank cooperative.

The Tarqumya cooperative is one of many projects to which ANERA has contributed money. In May, this year,

The quiet work and problems of foreign charities working in the occupied territories are often ignored. To try to redress the balance a little, **Maher Abukhatir** spotlighted the work of the American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) for *Al Fajr*.

ANERA: Service to West Bank and Gaza Development



ANERA contributes to vocational institutes (above) and to agricultural cooperatives, such as the Tarqumya project which runs an olive nursery (below). "Fully planned and funded humanitarian projects are often not executed because of lack of approval by Israeli authorities."



they completed assistance to eight electrification cooperatives in the West Bank for the purchase of generators and extension of power lines to village industries and homes. Other projects include US\$126,000 in aid to five small cooperatives in Hebron and Bethlehem, to assist with the purchase of agricultural machinery.

In Beit Jala, ANERA contributed US\$120,000 to a soap factory, an extension of the town's Olive Press Cooperative. It plans to produce two kinds of soap once it gets going, according to an official on the site. The project is 99 percent complete, and with a little more investment, a dozen or so skilled workers and some raw materials, it will go into production. Since the soap will be made from olive oil, the by-product of the olives pressed next door will be used efficiently. The soap factory will recycle residues after the high quality oil has

been taken off.

The factory has already produced its two kinds of soap on a trial basis. One kind is similar to the famous Nablus soap used locally, and the other is similar to European or American brands. The site official said the branches were well received in the West Bank during a recent marketing experiment and predicts the factory will do well. It is not known yet when the factory will start operating on a commercial basis. But early next year is given as a possible target date.

ANERA contributes to a diverse list of projects. Besides the agricultural or electrification projects, ANERA gives aid to YMCA and YWCA institutions, women's and charitable organisations and schools. In Hebron the Polytechnic and the city's municipal public library, a project developed by elected-later-de-

ported Mayor of Hebron, Fahd Qawasmeh, in 1977, received a good deal of ANERA attention. Signs at the entrances witness to ANERA's contribution. The Hebron Municipal Public Library has 14,000 volumes now and is gradually growing, a library official said.

The majority of ANERA projects, however, are in villages, the areas of greatest need, according to aid specialists. As well as planning development projects, ANERA had some extra problems in the form of the Israeli-backed Village Leagues while they were in their heyday, last year. The Leagues tried to take credit for one of ANERA's projects in the Hebron area, the project's agricultural engineer said. "But," he added, "it was not a successful attempt."

The American organisation was formed primarily to channel social and economic aid to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But as the conflict in Lebanon increased to a climax with the Israeli invasion last year, ANERA expanded its area of activities there. Aid was given to students attending Lebanese universities, but most of the aid went to help destitute Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, victims of the Israeli invasion and bombardments, according to ANERA's 1982 report. With the help of the American Middle East Rehabilitation (AMER) organisation, ANERA donated thousands of dollars worth of medical supplies and other emergency relief to revive civilian aid organisations like UNRWA, the Palestine Red Crescent Society and the American University Hospital, the report said. According to the Jerusalem ANERA representative, Henry Selz, all Lebanon projects were approved by the Israeli military in comparison to those planned for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The elected mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, Fahd Qawasmeh and Mohammed Mliehem, put their finger on the general type of projects Israel rejects in a statement they drafted several years ago. Israel refuses those projects "that increase productivity or self-reliance, higher level vocational training and higher education, and the general strengthening of Palestinian institutions (cooperatives, municipalities, educational institutions)," they wrote.

Yet, despite these difficulties, social and economic development projects in the West Bank are moving forward. While Western development theorists are spending millions of dollars looking for ways to plan economic development in the third world, ANERA has found that money, dedication and trust is the answer to development, when the matter is left in the hands of local people.

ANERA

ANERA is a non-profit, charitable organisation assisting Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and in the refugee camps. In the belief that its humanitarian work will contribute to peace in the region, ANERA emphasises lasting projects in health, education and community development.

Tax-deductible contributions to ANERA or requests for information may be sent to:

1522 K Street, NW, 2202, Washington, DC, 20005

ANERA

"There's none so blind as those that will not see," is an old adage but a good one. The recent anniversary of the death of the first Israeli Premier David Ben Gurion led to a crop of articles on his ideas and legacy. Enterprising journalists dug up previously unpublished episodes from his past, including this story Amos Nevo wrote up for *Yediot Aharanot* of Ben Gurion's lunatic scheme to convert the *Naqab Beduin* to Judaism.

Judaisation of the Beduin: A Ben Gurion Dream



The Judaisation of the Beduin of Israel was one of the courageous and imaginative dreams of David Ben Gurion, the first prime and defence minister of Israel. One day when out on patrol in the Naqab, he saw some elderly Beduin and said excitedly: "They look like hassidim (a sect of pious Jews)." A few weeks later, the (Israeli Army) intelligence was put on alert to prepare for what was called operation Yohanan. The Israeli Army chief rabbi got the religious permit, the religious affairs minister and the chief rabbis gave their consent and in Beer Sheva a Beduin "reception room" was set up to receive the sheikhs and convert them to Judaism. Everything was ready for the craziest operation of the 1950s, but nobody believed that it would be activated. But the 'Old Man' (Ben Gurion) wanted it and insisted it be kept secret.

Ben Gurion did not see any difficulty in converting the Beduin to Judaism. Yitzhak Navon, the former president of Israel, said Ben Gurion stuck to the idea that some of the Beduin were originally Jews. Also, he once heard Ben Gurion say they were not attached to their religion. "I argued that maybe they were not highly educated but they absolutely adhered to their religion and performed some of the religious rituals," he later claimed.

The Abu Rabi'a, Abu Grinat and al-Asam tribes live in the area east of Beer Sheva. Some claimed they were originally Jewish. Ben Gurion demanded to meet them. His assistants Elhanan Yeshe and Yehoshua Cohen took him to one of the tents in the area.

"We were impressed that their Muslim religion was not strong," recalls Elhanan. "After that we travelled with him to the Lacheesh strip to see the new immigrants from the Atlas mountains. They dressed exactly like the Beduin and called him 'the Big Sultan'."

Moshe Dayan: Judaising the Arabs of Ramle

At the beginning of the 1960s, when Moshe Dayan was agriculture minister, he wanted to apply Ben Gurion's plan to the Arabs of Ramle.

Yosef Gevay, former commander of the central district, recalls a meeting in Ramle with Moshe Dayan: "The Arabs approached him and demanded he find them land to build schools. Dayan told me that this was unnecessary."

"Ben Gurion asked me, 'What is the difference between them and the Beduin? The Beduin have organised prayers, and we should reconvert them to Judaism. What we give the immigrants,' he said, 'we can also devote to the Beduin. If so, why don't we convert them to Judaism?'"

His associates, discouraged him. They said he had youthful naivete. He had dreams and aspirations. "Such an idea suits Ben Gurion," says Yitzhak Navon. When his friends told him the plan was not feasible, he became more and more insistent. He collected data, asked questions and analysed the matter in depth. He asked his colleagues to keep the plan secret.

"One day, as I was meeting with

'Why should they have a separate educational system?' Dayan asked, 'Let them learn with the Jews, and in the course of time they will be assimilated and convert.'

"He asked me to persuade the Jews in Ramle to agree on joint schooling with the Arabs. He told me that Ben Gurion had had a similar idea in the Naqab and that it was good to try it in Ramle. That was the first time I heard about Ben Gurion's conversion plan. I went to ask the Arabs and they agreed to joint schooling but the Jews refused."

him, Ben Gurion told me: 'You have intelligence and you know the Arabs. Try to see if it is possible to convert the Beduin,' " Yehoshafat Harkabi said.

Harkabi, who was then head of intelligence, said he concealed his smile with difficulty: "I did not take it seriously, but I asked my people to find out if it was possible."

"A special general staff team was appointed to handle the subject. Gad Navon, who is the chief rabbi of the (Israeli) Army today, was part of the team. Then he was the military rabbi of the northern district. He mastered Arabic and got to know the mentality (sic) of the Beduin. The head of the intelligence branch was sceptical, but Gad Navon said it was possible and I was convinced."

What is the difference between (recently arrived immigrants from the Atlas mountains) and the Beduin? The Beduin have organised prayers and we should convert them to Judaism. What we give the immigrants we can also devote to the Beduin. If so, why don't we convert them to Judaism?

— David Ben Gurion

In order to turn the Beduin into loyal Israelis and Jews, the security people planned to set up permanent settlements in their places of residence with Jewish educational institutions and synagogues. Gad Navon suggested Beduin children be integrated into the youth immigration institutions and enabled to enjoy new immigrant rights.

In the offices of Army Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren, the lights remained on until late at night. Goren wanted to find a religious precedent for this strange matter: "Ben Gurion sent me a person from the security services and asked me if I agreed to convert them. I asked whether Ben Gurion intended to force conversion. The person from the security services made it clear that the Beduin would not be converted by force: we (would) give them the opportunity to understand that it would be better for them if they converted of their own free will."

Goren recalls: "Ben Gurion believed that it would not be so difficult to convert them. I explained to him that there would certainly be difficulties with the first generation because it would be difficult for them to be liberated from their past. But everything would be alright after 25 years."

Rabbi Goren said he did not believe the plan was feasible. He explained that the Beduin would not give up their nomadic life, religion and habits: "No material promise would convince them." He advised Ben Gurion to support conversion only with the agreement of the Israeli chief rabbis. Ben Gurion warned him to keep the plan secret. "Then I felt that he was not sure of its success," Rabbi Goren said.

In the meantime Rabbi Gad Navon met religious affairs minister Haim Moshe Shapiro and the chief rabbis. Shapiro weighed the idea and agreed, while the other rabbis were reluctant. They feared the military people would impose conversion on the Beduin. But, finally, when the matter was clarified, they gave their approval.

Fear of Reaction From the Arab World

In the Israeli Army a detailed conversion plan was worked out and the name "operation Yohanan" was given to it. In a place not far from the military government building in Beer Sheva, the Israeli Army set up a Beduin reception room where the security people were supposed to meet the sheikhs and convert them.

The idea had already stuck in the mind of the Rabbi Goren: "I planned to recruit Arabic-speaking rabbis and set up dozens of (religious) courts in cooperation with military and civil rabbis."

"I planned to call large numbers of Beduin to meetings and explain the essence of conversion to them. After that I planned to meet them in small groups to ensure they were converting freely. All the time I was concerned that the security people would pressure and threaten them into conversion."

"According to the plan, we were supposed to complete the operation within a year."

Ben Gurion, who was planning the Judaisation of the Galilee and Nazareth then, asked that the 7000 Beduin of the northern district be included in the conversion operation. A total of 20,000 Beduin from the south and the north of the country were supposed to be included in the operation.

In the meantime, Ben Gurion became defence minister and his plan did not see light. The exact reason is not known.

Rabbi Goren recalls that in one meeting, Ben Gurion hinted that he feared reaction from the Arab world. Some people claim the security services foiled the plan. (Translation: *Yediot Aharanot*, 18.11.83)



PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

Mother will you return? and Other Poems

by Ratiba Salman Qabalan

Ratiba Salman Qabalan is a promising young poet from Nablus, who has been publishing in the local press since her secondary school days. She writes using simple words but is always sharp, lucid and effective.

Mother will you return?

Mother hold me
The roots of time are pulling me down
Digging my grave
And the longing for home enriches me
I ask the dead about your past
And my mind sinks in the world of fate
And grief overwhelms me
And the walls fall on me
O Mother, I search for your past
In all the faces
In the whispers, in the wailing of the past
I search for your grave
In the torn-out eyes
In the plundered fingers
In the land dug by the memories of hearts
And I get lost in the sea of searching

Dreams

I do not shed tears for you when I cry
But my past
When I used to drink your wine
And long for your sweet talk
I watch your footsteps
And notice your eyelashes
When I was young,
Very young, my child,
I combed my hair into two pigtales
The first one a symbol of my love
And for your love, the second
When I used to go to bed when the stars came out
Hoping my dreams of you would be prolonged
To marry me to you
A mortal bride
Today, my baby,
The child inside me died
And I cut my pigtales

Lebanon

Don't ask me when the wedding is
I will marry you
A bride
A bride when Lebanon is covered with blood
And its children are hungry
The ignoble are shattering its parts
Irrigating the thirsty love
With red blood
Red while the sun is engulfed by the universe
And the corpses on the ground
In Lebanon everywhere
There in Lebanon my love
When the martyrs will bloom
Roses like the snow.

Longing

I feel like crying, my love
I feel redness
When my longing grows
When the past saddens my heart
When my loved one dies like my years.

What is in them?

What is in your eyes, my love
That my boats sank in their seas.
What is in them
That my waters were mixed in their blue colour
What is in them?

Tomorrow

I don't know what I did that day
for them to bomb our groves
When they killed my father
After they disarmed him
I remember that day I sat in a corner

Crying over the oranges

I remember I heard the olive trees
Wailing, mourning, calling
Don't be afraid, O groves of my ancestors
Tomorrow I will grow
I will understand what it meant to bomb our groves
While they were still brides
On their wedding night

Searching for the lost

I went out while they were asleep
And ignoring me
In the darkness of the night
Between the movements of the drunk
To search
To look for my lost one
I walked
Climbed mountains
The rain fell
The volcanoes erupted
And no one saw her
Because my lost one was asleep
Among the roses

Behind the clouds

No, you won't leave my country
No, I won't let you drink the tears
In my eyes.
I won't surrender my weakness to you
But I will stay, and walk, and walk
Behind the clouds in your sadness,
Behind the spirits of your dead loved ones
When you were still very young

Do not leave

Do not leave, my friend
Life will not forgive me
The words will haunt me everywhere
They will paint a picture of your love, smudged
On the door of my life.

White, Green, Red, Black

by Mahera Jaber

White, green, red, black
these are the colours of our dear flag...

Three men they were, who never failed
their games, nor failed their plans...

From women they deprived themselves,
and put the books of love on the shelves...

Each night they used to meet in the dark
and see each other in their hearts...

O, they lived for the sake of others,
but they died apart from one another

Red, white, black, green:
go to your death with your hearts clean...

These were the words, mixed with their blood
which strengthened them as though a
flood...

Green, black, white, red:
two men were hanged by the neck...

Black, red, green, white:
the third failed not, and insisted
to live...
and fight...



Mahera Jaber studies English literature at Bethlehem University.

Haifa Artist Completes Mosaic

The artist Abed Abdi from Haifa has completed the major project of a 9.5-square-metre mosaic in marble in St. Mary's Church in Haifa.

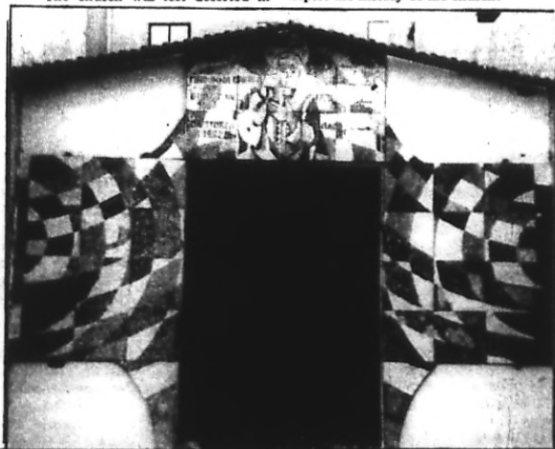
The church was built in 1862 in the church quarter in Haifa. It is the biggest church and belongs to the Greek Orthodox. Archbishop Hajjar, known as the 'Arab archbishop', is buried there. Hajjar is known as a national figure who resisted the British and the Zionist occupations. He was deported to the Seychelle Islands.

The church was left deserted in

1948 as most residents of Haifa became refugees. Those who remained moved to the Wadi Nisnas quarter.

Demolition has been held off, however. Several years ago the Israeli authorities wanted to demolish it but this spurred members of the Jacobite sect and Kamil Shehadeh to campaign to get the church restored.

The mosaic picture, which was drawn with assistance of German volunteers, is in the shape of a big cross. Abdi is now planning a mural in which he will depict the history of the church.



WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



(Nahr al-Bared means Cold River)

The PLO-Israel prisoner exchange naturally dominated the local press. Photographs and analyses as well as banner-headlined articles focusing on the Palestinian prisoners filled the front pages.

The Syrian-Saudi cease-fire agreement in Tripoli was also given prominence, as were the stabbing of an Israeli settler in Nablus and the subsequent actions by settler-vigilantes.

On November 29, local Palestinian newspapers devoted their top stories to the United Nations-designated International Day for Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

Dialogue Now!

It is sad that the PLO, which always called for unity among the Arab nations, is itself facing a situation where the Arabs are urging it to be united for the sake of the cause it represents.

The cease-fire is welcomed by everyone and should be preserved. This should not be the end but the means to rebuild what has already been damaged and to resolve all disputes that led to the armed confrontation.

The efforts by the non-aligned nations and other parties should not be a substitute for Palestinian efforts to overcome the current difficulties as soon as possible. Over-concentration on maintaining the cease-fire may lead to renewed fighting, as was the case in the past.

No one denies the value of maintaining the cease-fire, but this should be accompanied with efforts by all warring parties to start a dialogue to resolve all disagreements.

AL TALIA
November 24

The Prisoners and the Leadership

The legitimate PLO leadership has always been highly able and efficient in dealing with events even in the most difficult times. This is the result of the strong and constant faith our people have in the leadership. They see it as uniquely competent to lead the Palestinian people's struggle in a very difficult and decisive period.

Yesterday the exchange of Palestinian and Israeli prisoners proved again the capacity of this leadership to make the decisions that directly affect the Palestinian people by preserving their human, material and cultural gains.

No one can hide the satisfaction that the exchange of prisoners has brought to the Palestinians here and outside. To exchange six Israeli prisoners for almost 5000 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners from Ansar camp and another 100 Palestinian poli-

tical detainees here is a great achievement for the Palestinian people and their leadership. This accomplishment rescued thousands of our people from the harsh conditions they have been living under in Israeli prisons and returned the documents taken from the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut.

On the political level, the exchange proved to everyone that the legitimate leadership is the one in charge of the Palestinian people and the only one that can make decisions on behalf of the Palestinian people everywhere. Despite all the aggression committed against it, the leadership did not neglect its people held behind bars and in detention centres.

In the international arena and in Israel, the exchange won political support for the Palestinian cause. When Israel agreed to the exchange, it recognised that the prisoners it holds are prisoners of war and that the PLO is the only party to negotiate with regarding their fate.

Ahmad Jibril, who refused to release the two Israeli prisoners his group holds to the PLO and actually attacked our people in north Lebanon, bringing death and destruction to the Baddawi and Nahr al-Bared camps and Tripoli, did not show any concern for the many prisoners he could have freed by (the Israelis') release.

AL FAJR
November 25

Questions About the Exchange

The prisoner exchange unexpectedly ended Thursday night with all the Palestinian conditions being met except that they settled for the freeing of 100 prisoners in Israel (among them 37 captured on a hijacked Cypriot ship) rather than the 1250 held in Israel originally being demanded.

We welcome the liberation of our family in Ansar camp, but we hoped that all 1250 held in Israeli jails would also be liberated. These are the people who

spent many years in jail and turned them, in the face of all the difficulties, into universities.

The timing of the exchange and events which accompanied it also raise some questions, particularly about the deal with the local prisoners who were expecting things from the promises given by the right-wing Palestinian rulers.

We do not believe that the Israeli government took the initiative to exchange prisoners because of the difficult situation the Israeli captives were in, as they have said. We also do not believe this exchange was undertaken merely to serve some of the Palestinian leaders.

We hope that our leaders have learned a lesson in how to show concern for our people and will not use the liberated prisoners for political ends.

AL MITHAQ
November 26

The Palestinians and the PLO Here to Stay

All who have not yet realised the grave dangers resulting from the split in Fatah and the PLO, particularly the internecine fighting in Tripoli, should refer to the words of the Palestinians' enemies rejoicing over their and their leaders' misfortunes.

On the one hand, Israeli (Prime Minister Yitzhak) Shamir and (Defence Minister Moshe) Arens declared that the fighting in Tripoli "confirms that all Palestinians are terrorists." They asked the international community to reconsider their relationship with the PLO.

Then came minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben Porat to introduce a plan he called "resettlement of the refugees", while in truth it is a plan to destroy them and do away with their rights in their homeland.

In Brussels, chairman of the Israeli opposition party, the Labour Alignment, Shimon Peres, announced that "the PLO is not in existence any more" and therefore the Jordanians should be brought into peace

negotiations immediately.

In the Arab world we see clearly that Jordan is anxiously waiting for the PLO to be destroyed or at least to fall into Syrian hands, so that it will find itself forced from the Arab decisions regarding the PLO's representative status.

Undoubtedly Arab reactionaries realise the PLO is an obstacle to their free movement down the Camp David road. In other words, the enemies of the Palestinian people are rushing to bury the PLO and inherit its wealth.

We honestly hope the Palestinian brothers will realise this and act accordingly, putting the Palestinian union first and rallying behind the PLO. On the other hand, we would like to tell Israel and the Arab reactionaries that the PLO was able to overcome many previous tragedies and always came out stronger. We therefore tell those preparing eulogies that the PLO is staying and is bound to come out of this crisis stronger because its strength comes from the eternal Palestinian people.

AL ITTIHAD
November 27

No Alternatives

The PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people recognised by the Arabs at (the 1974 Arab Summit in) Rabat and by most members of the UN.

Yasir Arafat is the leader who took office after elections in the PLO institutions. He became leader through democratic channels, not through a military coup as is the case with his opponents (in) Syria and Libya.

Democracy and legitimacy are the result of the people's will. They are not banners hung over institutions with the power to change them from dictatorial to democratic and through a coup become legitimate. It is therefore wrong to label the PLO dictatorial or illegitimate just because it is not a puppet of Syria and Libya.

From this it follows that

ousting Arafat with the help of external forces would remove the recognised legitimacy of the PLO. A puppet PLO established in Syria would lose its representative powers, which the Palestinian people won through years of hard work and sacrifice.

Therefore whatever the PLO opposition is doing with Syrian and Libyan backing will damage the PLO further. It may destroy the only organ capable of speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people.

AL QUDS
November 28

Greetings to Algeria

When Algeria hosted the Palestine National Council meeting last February, it refused to take any other role than that of host. Algerian President Shadli Ben Jedid refused to chair the opening session, showing clearly how the relationship between the PLO and other Arab countries should be — support for the PLO and cooperation with it.

Algeria took an honourable position towards the crisis the PLO has been going through in recent months. Two days ago President Shadli said no country can claim to be the regent of the Palestinian revolution. He added, "We are with the Palestinian revolution under the legitimate and elected leadership of the PLO... we are with you and will stay this way without interfering with your political decisions. I honestly believe this should be everyone's position."

Shadli said this to the 1100 Palestinian prisoners freed from Israeli detention. Algeria's reception to these men indicates the strength of Palestinian-Algerian relations. The one million martyrs it lost in its revolution means the Algerians understand the Palestinian situation.

We welcome the Algerian position, hoping it will serve as an example to all those dreaming of imposing themselves on the Palestinian people and the PLO.

AL SHAAB
November 28

JAFFA THREATENS UNILATERAL ACTION ON MOSQUE

Jaffa residents threatened to take unilateral "practical and protesting procedures" if the Israeli authorities continue to delay renovation of Hassan Bek Mosque in the town, according to local residents.

A nine-member delegation from the Islamic Waqf Committee, the Jaffa Residents Popular Committee and Hassan Bek's imam met Israeli Knesset members, November 22, in Jerusalem and gave the Israeli ministry of religious affairs until the end of the month to act on keeping their promises about rebuilding the mosque's minaret, which collapsed in mysterious circumstances, April 1982.

The delegation reportedly

told the MKs they will call protesting prayers in mosques all over the country and in front of the Knesset headquarters in Jerusalem if their demands are not met.

After the meeting, members of the delegation told *Al Fajr* that Jaffa Muslims will also adopt "practical procedures" if the authorities do not start work by the beginning of December. The December start-date was set some weeks ago by Benjamin Gur Arye, the prime minister's advisor for Arab affairs, they said.

The Popular Committee for the Renovation of the Mosque, which consists of heads of local councils, Knesset members and judges, held a meeting, November

17, and decided to put the Hassan Bek issue on the Knesset agenda.

Bassam Abu Zeid, imam of the mosque, told *Al Fajr* so far there has been no indication that the Israeli authorities intend to start renovation.

The minaret collapsed last April. Official explanations say the neglected tower fell because of high winds. Meteorological research shows winds were light that night.

Two years ago, Labour Party Leader Shimon Peres' brother was given a permit to convert the mosque into a commercial centre. After protests about the proposed desecration, the plan was dropped.

ARMY PUSHES COPTIC LAND GRAB

Senior officers in the Israeli Army's central command recently approached the Israel Land Administration office to demand expropriation of a plot of land near Jerusalem belonging to the Palestinian Coptic community. The office also opposes community plans to build a college and a church, according to *HaAretz*. The spokesperson of the ILA in Jerusalem confirmed the army's approach, but he pointed out that this issue has not yet been discussed in the expropriation committee, the paper said.

Officials in the Jerusalem municipality and its religious affairs office said that Israel has never confiscated church-owned

land in Jerusalem apart from one occasion, following the 1967 war, according to the Israeli daily.

The spokesperson of the Coptic community told *Al Fajr* that they applied for a permit from the Israeli authorities to build the school and church about nine years ago and have not yet received an answer. "There are only political reasons behind this," he said.

According to *HaAretz*, the Israeli security services oppose the community plans, while the foreign and religious affairs ministries and the Jerusalem municipality want "a compromise to enable the Copts to set up their project." (Partial Translation: *HaAretz*, November 25, 1983).

Peace Activist "Enemy" Says Minister

Reserve General Matityahu Peled, member in the Israel-Palestine Peace Council, is considered an enemy of Israel by minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben

Porat, according to *Al Hamishmar*, November 29.

The paper said that in a press conference which was held on the eve of the opening of the

American Jewish Congress, he pointed to Peled's accusation that Ben Porat had cooperated with the Iraqi regime during the 1950s and called Ben Porat a traitor.

Another Newspaper Closed

The publishing license of *Al Wahda* newspaper was withdrawn, November 27, following the death of its founder, Fuad Rizeq, last February, according to Israel Television.

Al Wahda Editor-in-Chief Mohammed Awad told *Al Fajr*, November 29, that so far the Israeli authorities had not notified him of the decision. Rizeq's widow, Samira Shurafa, is in

Jordan now, he said.

Shurafa wrote to the Jerusalem district commissioner, Rafael Levy, one month after Rizeq's death saying that *Al Wahda* will continue printing. She received no reply, Awad said. *Al Wahda* was first published February 20, 1982.

Levy withdrew the license of *Al Shira'a* magazine, this summer. No reason was given.



What's Behind the Prisoner Exchange?

by Bishara Bahbah

The November 24 exchange of prisoners between the PLO and Israel is unprecedented not only in terms of its magnitude and timing but also in its political implications for both the PLO and the Israeli government.

The Israeli government's acceptance of the terms for the release of the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners was motivated by many factors. They were undoubtedly concerned about the safety of the six Israeli prisoners, particularly since the frontline defences of Tripoli itself — the refugee camps of Nahr al-Bared and Baddawi — fell to Syrian and rebel forces. Israeli decision-makers could have concluded that either a savage Syrian attack was coming up or PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's departure was imminent. The fate of the prisoners would then have been completely uncertain. The Israeli government certainly needed an urgent solution. Eight months ago their negotiating team rejected the same exchange terms.

Israel was also influenced by the

undoubtedly harsh international criticism it has had to endure over the existence of a concentration camp like al-Ansar. Israel could not have continued to maintain the camp without increasing international pressure. Acceptance of the PLO's major demand for release of all al-Ansar detainees provided the Israeli government the "justifiable excuse" it was looking for to get rid of the problem of the detainees.

Domestic concerns must also have been a consideration. The Shamir government calculated correctly that the release of the prisoners would be well-received in Israel. It hoped that this could provide a major political victory to a government that had a shaky birth and has been plagued with serious crises since.

The final calculations of the impact of this Palestinian-Israeli deal have yet to be made. On the one hand, the Israelis do not yet know the full details of the agreement. Many have already indicated that the price paid was far too

high and that this type of an agreement has set a precedent in terms of having to release important Palestinian military prisoners who have participated in highly publicised operations such as the Daboyya (Hadassah) and the Savoy incidents. Many Israelis have also interpreted the agreement as having made significant political concessions to the PLO, particularly since it involved virtually direct negotiations.

On the other hand, right from the start there was speculation that the six released Israeli soldiers might have to face a court martial because of the ease with which they were captured, mostly due, according to ex-Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan and President Haim Herzog, to their carelessness. The detainees may have to pay in legal terms for the high price Israel was forced to accept. But this, in time, could engulf Israel in a new political crisis.

Finally, some Israelis believe that Shamir's timing was intended to give a clear signal that if Israel has to deal with

the Palestinians it would rather deal with pragmatic Arafat than with a Syrian-dominated Abu Musa.

On the Palestinian side, the implications of the Palestinian-Israeli exchange are clear. Yasir Arafat came out the big winner. Managing to release thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese from Israeli prisons is a major political victory.

Also significant is the fact that Israelis are realising, albeit slowly, that if they have to deal with the Palestinians, the PLO is the address. In other words, the PLO has gained indirect recognition by the Israelis.

Finally, the exchange has clearly boosted the morale of the Palestinians everywhere, from Tripoli to the occupied territories.

On both the Israeli and Palestinian fronts this exchange could be described as breaking new ground. It will definitely have serious implications on future Israel-Palestinian relations. (Translation: *Al Fajr* Arabic, November 25, 1983).

WEEKLY REVIEW

November 23, 1983

ATTRASH BACKS ARAFAT

BETT SAHOUR — Mayor of Beit Sahour, Hanna Attrash, reiterated his support for the legitimate PLO leadership. Attrash said he made his statement to refute a *Jerusalem Post* report, November 23, that he had signed a petition supporting the Fatah dissidents and criticizing PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

Attrash said the report was fabricated and unfounded. He said what is happening now in north Lebanon is a conspiracy by the Syrian and Libyan regimes to destroy the PLO and its infrastructure and replace it with another weak organisation.

NABLUS DEMONSTRATES

TEL AVIV — More than 3000 people demonstrated in Nablus yesterday in support of PLO leader Yasir Arafat. The demonstrators carried Palestinian flags and burned pictures of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. The Israeli Army fired bullets in the air to disperse them.

NAJAH BLOCKED AGAIN

Israeli Radio said roadblocks on the streets leading to Najah University prevented teachers and students from reaching campus. The radio said the Israeli Army roadblocks have been in place for several days now.

KACH WANTS LYNCHING

TEL AVIV — The ultra-rightist Kach movement, led by Rabbi Meir Kahane, issued a statement demanding that Palestinians arrested last week on charges of killing a settler in Hebron be hanged without trial. The movement also demanded that the arrested men's families be "punished severely" and deported to Jordan.

STUDENTS BARRED FROM SCHOOLS

JERUSALEM — Eighteen secondary school students from Nablus were barred from returning to their schools or registering at any other institution after they were detained for 11-13 days following demonstrations.

DHEISHEH RESIDENTS PUNISHED

JERUSALEM — Twenty people from Dheishah refugee camp, aged 16-55 years, were fined IS3000-IS10,000 after being found guilty of curfew violations.

LAND DOCUMENTS FORGED

RAMALLAH — Residents from

the village of Jeeb, near Ramallah, said almost 200 dunums of their land were sold illegally. They said land documents used in the sale of their property near Ze'ev, Hadash and Givon settlements were forged.

The landowners protested to the Israeli military government.

SETTLERS BEAT YOUTHS

Yedi'ot Aharanot said Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, chased and captured Palestinian youths who they claimed stoned a bus they were riding in near Halhoul and started beating them. The paper reported the settlers' action came in compliance with the new orders by the Israeli commander of the central region.



Jerusalemites outside Damascus Gate catch up on the latest concerning the PLO-Israel prisoner exchange, November 25. The day before, close to 5000 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners were exchanged for six Israeli POWs captured by the PLO.

November 24, 1983

ISRAELI PLANE HIT

TEL AVIV — Israeli Radio confirmed Syrian reports that an Israeli drone spy-plane was hit over Lebanon. Syria said it downed the plane over the Beqa'a valley. The Israeli spokesperson said the wreckage was taken to Damascus for examination.

November 25, 1983

NEW RAMALLAH TEACHERS COMMITTEE

RAMALLAH — Members of the Ramallah branch of the General Committee of Public School Teachers in the West Bank elected a new committee.

SETTLERS DENOUNCE EXCHANGE

The Israeli West Bank and Gaza Strip Settlement Council denounced the prisoner exchange agreement reached between Israel and the PLO.

BOMB DISCOVERED IN NAQAB

Israel Radio said an explosive device was discovered at an intersection near a taxi stop in the west Naqab. The bomb was dismantled, according to the radio report.

MK URGES DEATH TO PALESTINIANS

Member of the Knesset Yehuda Perek urged the Israeli government to pass the death penalty for Palestinians found guilty of killing Israelis.

STUDENT TOWN ARRESTED

HEBRON — Hebron University student Ibrahim Khadajbeh, member of the university student council, was placed under town arrest. The order, which runs for six months, was issued for unspecified 'security' reasons.

THREE TYRE DOCTORS ARRESTED

SIDON — Reporters in Sidon said three doctors working in Tyre hospitals were arrested by the Israelis and taken to an unknown location. This is the first report on arrests in South Lebanon since the release of almost 4000 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners held in South Lebanon, November 24.

Tyre doctors protested this act and called for a protest strike.

WAOF EMPLOYEES WANT RAISE

JERUSALEM — *Waqf* (Islamic charitable foundation) employees are asking for pay rises in light of the deteriorating economic situation in the West Bank. The employees have not received a raise for the past four years, a spokesperson said.

MUSIC CENTRE IN NABLUS

NABLUS — The academy for teaching music opened its doors. It will give instruction in all instruments.

EGYPT BARS ISRAELI BOOKS

CAIRO — The Egyptian magazine *October* said the government has decided against allowing Israel to participate in the January Cairo International Book Fair.

The magazine said this step was taken to protest Israel's practices in Lebanon.

November 27, 1983

FIVE HEBRON YOUTHS ARRESTED

TEL AVIV — *Ma'ariv* said five Hebron youths were arrested and charged with stoning Israeli cars in the city.

UNIVERSITY ART CENSORSHIP

HAIFA — *HaAretz* newspaper said Haifa University ordered a series of works by an Israeli artist removed from the university gallery. The paper said the work reflected the bad treatment of Ansar camp prisoners received from Israeli soldiers.

HANOUN CALLS FOR NEW ELECTIONS

TULKARM — Mayor Hilmi Hanoun of Tulkarm called yesterday for new municipal elections in the West Bank. Hanoun said the current municipalities created by the military government are "not doing their jobs."

FREEZE ON WEST BANK LABS

TULKARM — Applications for licenses for biology laboratories have been frozen by the Israeli

LAND GRAB

HEBRON — Two thousand dunums of land in the village of Kharas, near Hebron, were grabbed. The land expropriated is west of the village close to the 'green line' and is owned by almost 30 families from the village.

PRISONERS IN SOUTH LEBANON

BEIRUT — Lebanese sources said more than 100 prisoners in South Lebanon were not released in the package deal between the PLO and Israel.

The spokesman for the Shi'ite Amal movement said at least 15 members of its group are still in Israeli custody. He said there is suspicion that four of them have been moved to Israeli jails.

NABLUSIS HARASSED

NABLUS — Israeli tax officials continued harassing Nablus residents, forcing them to pay heavy taxes. Some of those targeted include lawyers on strike since June 5, 1982 and doctors.

November 26, 1983

BEIRUT DEATH SENTENCES

BEIRUT — A Lebanese military court sentenced to death two

military. Several qualified people who applied for licenses were turned down.

SOUTH LEBANON'S MILITIA DISSOLVED

SIDON — The commander of the Israeli-created "Lebanese Army" in South Lebanon, Abd al-Amir Mansour, said his army will be dissolved because he realises Israel "wants to use it for its interests to do what the Israeli Army cannot do."

MEASURES TO QUELL STONE-THROWING

Israel Radio said the Israeli Army presence on West Bank roads will be increased to quell stone-throwing attacks at Israeli targets. The radio said the increased army presence will be concentrated at the refugee camps near Nablus and Halhoul.

STONE-THROWING IN WEST BANK

TEL AVIV — Stones were thrown at an Israeli bus in Ramallah, injuring one passenger. In Nablus another bus was hit by stones, injuring a passenger.

ISRAELI PRISONERS THANK AL FAJR

JERUSALEM — The Israeli prisoners freed in the recent exchange with the PLO prisoners telephoned *Al Fajr* to thank it and its publisher, Paul Ajlouni, for contacting them while in captivity.

Ajlouni was the first journalist to meet the six prisoners while they were held in Tripoli and to report to their families on their condition.

GAZA YOUTHS SENTENCED

Eight Gaza youths were sentenced to between six and 30 months jail for attacking an Israeli policeman near Nusseirat camp, two weeks ago.

Several youths attacked the policeman and burned his car. He was rescued by Israeli soldiers.

STUDENTS TOWN ARRESTED

JERUSALEM — Military town arrest orders against four Najah University, Nablus, students were renewed.

EXPLOSIVES IN NAQAB

HaAretz said two explosive devices were discovered in the Naqab near Sheibaitah. Both were dismantled.

CELL CHARGED WITH NINE OPERATIONS

The Israeli press reported that members of the underground cell discovered recently in the West Bank and charged with the killing of Israeli settler Aharon Gross in Hebron will also be charged with carrying out nine other operations. These include burning stores and movie theatres.



The first Karate exhibition in Jericho since 1973 took place November 28. Sponsored by the Young Men's Sports Club, the event attracted 30 athletes from the West Bank and Gaza and a large audience/KK photo

November 28, 1983

CURFEW AND ARREST IN NABLUS

JERUSALEM — An Israeli settler from Bracha settlement, near Nablus, was stabbed by unknown assailants in the Nablus central market, *Al Shaab* reported in its main story. A curfew was immediately imposed on a large area of Nablus and soldiers started a search.

An Israeli military spokesman said the settler, Yosef Stern, 32, was seriously wounded when he was stabbed yesterday. He added that Stern fired several shots in the air before he lost consciousness. He was taken to a nearby hospital in Kfar Saba. Nearby Askar refugee camp was also curfewed.

Settlers arriving in the area rounded up all the people they could find and fired shots at houses and cars, according to *Al Ittihad*.

NO SALARY INCREASE

WEST BANK — West Bank government employees complained that they have not received salary increases as was announced earlier by the military authorities. They said their shekel salaries are now worth JD15 less than last month.

NETUREI KARTA ASKS ARAFAT'S HELP

The anti-Zionist Orthodox Jewish Neturei Karta organisation will seek help from Yasir Arafat if the US refuses to aid them. Moshe Hirsch, leader of the group said.

He said the Israeli police have been harassing the orthodox community in Mea Sharim, Jerusalem, and Neturei Karta needs outside help to stop it.

VILLAGE LEAGUE MEMBERS BURN CARS

JERUSALEM — A group of Village League members in Rill'in torched two cars owned by residents of Beitillo village, near Ramallah. One of the owners is a relative of the man charged with killing Yusef Khatib, former head of Ramallah Village League.

DISCRIMINATION OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED

TEL AVIV — Israel's Attorney General, Yitzhak Zamir, admitted that there is discrimination in social insurance money paid to Jewish and Arab families.

US INCREASES MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL

JERUSALEM — *Al Quds* reported that US President Ronald Reagan lifted last year's ban on selling cluster bombs to Israel. He also agreed to increase military aid.

PALESTINIANS SENTENCED

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said the military court in Ramallah

yesterday sentenced the Palestinians accused of assassinating the head of the Ramallah Village League, Yusef Khatib, in 1981.

The two leaders of the cell were sentenced to life imprisonment, and eight other members got sentences ranging between 8 and 14 years, the radio reported.

One cell member escaped from the court during earlier proceedings. The charges against the cell included: assassinating Khatib and other Israeli collaborators, planting explosives at different locations and throwing bombs at Israeli soldiers.

PARENTS COUNCIL BOOSTS EDUCATION

QALQILYA — The Parents Council of Al-Salaam school decided on a series of measures designed to improve the quality of education in the school. They will include private lessons for average

and below-average students, tutorials to resolve educational problems and the establishment of a fund to provide hardship grants for poor students.

ASSOCIATION MEMBERS REJECTED

JENIN — Israel's army office for social affairs approved the newly elected management committee of the Jenin Charitable Association with the exception of Dr Khalil Tougan, Dr Hashim Abd al-Hadi and Hani Abbouski. No reason was given for their exclusion.

500 APPLY FOR ONE JOB

NABLUS — More than 500 people responded to an ad for a salesperson post in a Nablus store. Observers believe this reflects the serious deterioration in the economic situation in the city.

ARTISTS DETENTION EXTENDED

JERUSALEM — The detention order against Palestinian artist Fathi Ghabin has been extended for another week, until December 12.

BORDER GUARDS ACTED AS ORDERED, REPORT SAYS

TEL AVIV — Israel's military coordinator for the occupied territories, Binyamin Ben Eliezer, said a report by an Israeli committee investigating the shooting death of two Tulkarm residents two weeks ago acquitted the border guards who killed them. He said the Israeli soldiers acted according to standing orders.

ISRAELI DOVES HOLD 'PEACE' MEET

"Even you, gentlemen, are here to hold a symposium about the effects of the occupation on the soil of the Jewish people. I would like to see you hold a symposium about the effects of the occupation on the soil of the Arab population."

These were the words of a Hebron medical doctor to participants at the international council of the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East (ICP-Middle East). He told them that in his eyes they regarded and dealt with the West Bank and Gaza Strip as parts of *Eretz Israel*. He told them that in his opinion, the obstacle preventing peace in the Middle East is the continued refusal of the Israeli government to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

His words clearly offended those like American citizen, Professor Arthur Hertzberg, who, like his fellow council members, clearly fights a battle against the annexationist settlement policy of the Israeli government and does recognise that the Palestinian nation has legitimate rights. Still, the brief encounter which took place during a meeting with the dismissed Acting-Mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natash, may stand as a good example of obstacles that may be found by

those looking for "the path of the peace process."

What is exactly the goal of the ICP-Middle East, a rather impressive Tel Aviv (and Israel Labour Party)-based body that held its symposium on the effects of the occupation in Jerusalem and the West Bank, November 21-24? Their goal is "to develop recommendations and promote educational activities with a view to the achievement of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East." The centre will work to achieve this by "removal of the obstacles from the path of the peace process and inducement of the parties to the conflict to join in that process and adopt positions conducive to dialogue," according to one of its handouts.

More substantially, the report of the centre's directors to the board of trustees says they will assist in the "presentation of viable alternatives." Papers circulated during the symposium included one titled "A Palestinian State Alongside Israel," by Meir Pa'il (a reprint from *Can The Palestinian Problem Be Solved?*, Jerusalem, 1983) and a newsletter from the (American) New Jewish Agenda, with a call for a "West Bank settlement freeze."

The centre's membership includes several names closely affiliated with the Israeli Labour

Party, along with Peace Now and *New Outlook* members. The chairperson of the presidium of the international council is Israeli ex-Foreign Minister Abba Eban, the chairperson of the board of trustees is former MK Arie Eliahu and the chairperson of the executive committee is MK Naftali Blumenthal. Other members of the international council are: Uri Avneri, senior Israeli Army officer Mordechai Baron, ex-MK Walid Sadik and Peter Weiss.

During meetings with West Bank Palestinians, members of the ICP-Middle East came very close to expressing despair at the lack of any substantially positive move in the "peace process." What they wanted to see and hear above all, they said, was a clear-cut, official and open PLO recognition of the state of Israel. They clearly regarded such a unilateral PLO move as the only political event which might help them forward their own political efforts, which were more or less openly defined as mounting pressure on the governments of Israel and the US. They harshly criticised the PLO for having "come out too late with too little" and for not "playing the last card." They said there was no possibility of such an initiative coming from the PLO and pleaded with locals to act unilaterally.

Getting rid of a 'refugee problem' of the magnitude, history and political complexity of that of the Palestinians driven out of their homes in 1948 will be no easy task. In pure economic terms it would be a massive undertaking, regardless of other considerations. Sami al-Aboudi of *Al Fajr* was in Gaza last week to see how 'refugee rehabilitation' was carried out there in the early 1970s. He found that then it was the Palestinians themselves who had to shell out for gerry-built sub-standard housing in 'security' designed compounds.

With liquidating West Bank camps now back on the Israeli agenda, his report gives a new perspective on some of the highflow rhetoric now being thrown about.

The Politics of 'Voluntary' Resettlement in Gaza

Last week, Israeli minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben Porat told a press conference Israel wants to liquidate Palestinian refugee camps in the occupied territories. He couldn't say how it was going to be done but called his scheme variously "humanitarian" and "voluntary." Refugee themselves simply say his ideas are politically motivated — aiming to remove their status and negate their right to their homes within the 'green line' — and unworkable. To back this latter claim they cite Israel's 'voluntary' resettlement of refugees in the Gaza Strip.

Resettlement schemes in Gaza were initiated in 1975. Presently, there are eight housing schemes designed to absorb refugees from the major refugee camps.

The scheme twins camps and projects. Jabaliya camp, north of the city of Gaza and the largest camp in the Strip, for instance, is, if Israel has its way, to be absorbed into two projects: Beit Lahia and Jabaliya Nazleh. Israel plans that residents of the central region refugee camps of Bureij, Maghazi and Nusseirat will be resettled on the same sites.

Hai Sheikh Radwan is one of three housing projects designed by the military authorities to absorb refugees from the densely populated Shate' (Beach) Camp. With more than 2000 residents already living in it, the project is the second largest resettlement site in the Gaza Strip, after Tai al-Sultan, near Rafah.

Hai Sheikh Radwan is divided into three schemes, which can be distinguished only by the buildings in them. Finished and near-finished houses mean section A, the first part of the project. Section B is mainly unfinished. The third part, Section C, is still under construction.

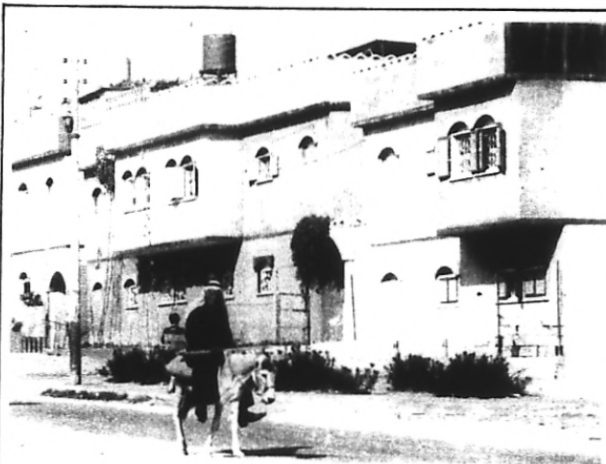
Unlike the refugee camps, the project is divided by wide two-lane streets into small blocks which, local youths say, make it easier for the army to control the camp during demonstrations.

The resettlement project is officially considered a neighbourhood within the municipal boundaries of Gaza. The fact that it gets very few services does not negate that reality. There are only government schools and clinics in it but inhabitants can still send their children to UNRWA schools in Shate'. But since the camp is several kilometres away, most find themselves obliged to deal with government schools.

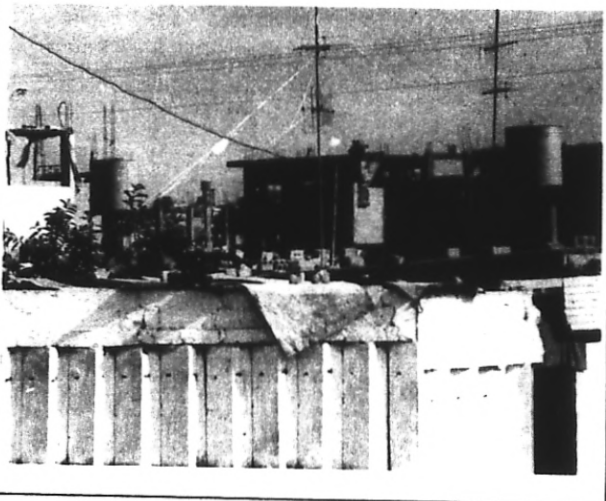
The same conditions apply to medical services at UNRWA-run clinics.

Politically active people in the Strip argue that the Israeli authorities believe that by suspending UNRWA's services and making refugees less dependent on them, they will slowly forget where they came from. They say that in the long run, the ID card issued by the UN agency could be forgotten, after long disuse.

The original Israeli resettlement plans were started when Ariel Sharon wanted to thin out the camps during his suppression of opposition there in the early '70s. Regardless of whether the entire population can be moved out or not, the ultimate goal is to have the refugees living in permanent shelters, within confined areas and under the service jurisdiction of the Israeli authorities.



Hai Sheikh Radwan in Gaza is the site of housing projects designed by military authorities to absorb refugees. Shown above are the first model housing units. Only twenty of these were completed, most resettlement units are two-room prefab houses (below).



The development of Hai Sheikh Radwan, which sits at the northern edge of Shate' camp, was carried out in three stages. The first stage began in 1976 after long preparations which included the installation of sewage systems and the extension of water and electricity supplies. Twenty model housing units — three-rooms with all amenities — were constructed. These apartments were extensively shown to get journalists and other visitors used to the new scheme, as well as to refugees to encourage them to sign on for the project. These 20 apartments were the only ones built on that model, however. Instead, two-room concrete houses on 250-square-metre plots were offered to Palestinian refugees on 99-year leases in exchange for for-

feiting their homes in the refugee camp. Refugees were required to pay IL35,000 registration fees.

Despite the high price, to hundreds of refugees living in over-crowded houses the offer was appealing. In less than two years, the project was closed after all houses were sold out.

The houses, however, failed to make it through their first winter. Most were found to be leaking, and soon many houses developed big cracks and became uninhabitable. Some refugees who had sons working in the Arab Gulf states were able to replace their houses with other much stronger ones. Others had to patch up the frames as best they could and are trying to save some

money to continue the work, while some are still awaiting money from sons in the Gulf states.

The Abu Hilal family, one of the first families to register for the project, say they were driven to it by a desperate need to expand. The 11-member family had been living in two small rooms with no space for additions. They collected IL23,000 out of the IL37,000 needed for the price of the house. "We had to sell our TV set in order to pay for the house," one member of the family said. The young man said that they were aware that the price was more political than anything else, but they had no choice.

Few families in Hai Sheikh Radwan know the conditions attached to their leases. Hardly anybody knows under what circumstances the agreement can be revoked.

The second stage was begun in 1978. Empty 125-square-meter plots were given out to refugees. One worker, who was fired from work last year after eight years of employment in an Israeli firm, also cited the problem of overcrowding as the main reason for his departure from Shate' camp. The man, originally from the destroyed Palestinian village of Hamameh, mid-way between Majdal and Asqalan, said that his seven-member family and his father's, a total of 10 people, were living in two rooms in Shate' camp. Although they signed for the project in 1982, they moved into their new four-room cement block house only last June.

The family was given IS7,000 as compensation for the house they had to demolish in Shate' camp. The family's life savings and the compensation money for redundancy went into building the house, which the family estimates cost JD3500.

After a brief stop at the end of 1982, the military authorities started giving out smaller 100-square-metre land plots each. The military authorities give top priority to applications from families living close to the sea, which they regard as a "security area." Many of these families were victims of the early 1970s security clampdown, where military bulldozers opened wide streets in the middle of camps making thousands of people homeless.

Since Ben Porat has recently unveiled his resettlement plan, Gaza refugees expect the military authorities to try to speed up the resettlement process and anticipate a wave of pressure to force them to abandon the camps. UNRWA, which had often been accused of collaboration with the authorities, does not seem ready to intervene to put an end to it. They have not moved any of their facilities into the resettlement projects. On the contrary, there has been a systematic reduction of UNRWA services, the latest of which — the suspension of distribution of food rations and school materials to students — are strengthening the feeling that the UN agency is preparing to forfeit its responsibility for Palestinian refugees, rumours of which have been circulating for years.

John McAndrew, deputy director of UNRWA operations in Gaza, denied the rumours. He, however, admitted that there had been reductions in services, but explained that the reductions were due to lack of funds. McAndrew insisted that the resettlement of refugees does not affect their status.